



Grand Prospects of Halle Pietism

The Acrobat, the Project-maker and the Shepherd

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KRISTIAN MEJRUP

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GRAND PROSPECTS OF HALLE PIETISM

THE ACROBAT, THE PROJECT-MAKER AND THE SHEPHERD

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The Faculty of Theology
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Kristian Mejrurp

**The Faculty of Theology
Department of Church History / SOLITUDES
University of Copenhagen
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PREFACE

First and foremost, I should like to thank my supervisor Mette Birkedal Bruun for her skilled and encouraging supervision, for being generous with her human and scholarly insights. The present study developed as part of a three-year involvement (March 2013–2016) in the ERC research project: *SOLITUDES. Withdrawal and Engagement in the long Seventeenth Century*. I have worked closely together with project-leader Mette Birkedal Bruun, Sven Rune Havsteen, Eelco Nagelsmit and Lars Nørgaard. I am grateful to each one of them. I should like to thank in particular Sven Rune Havsteen for being my co-supervisor over the last three years, for helpful advice and support and for sharing his enormous knowledge and a world of music, aesthetics and theology; Eelco for sharing his world of images and buildings; Lars, *il miglior fabbro*, for friendship and inspiration, and for never allowing a conversation to get dull.

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In the process of preparing the manuscript for publication in *Publikationer fra Det Teologiske Fakultet*, minor corrections have been made to the text.

Copenhagen, March / May 2016.

INDEX

Introduction	9
Part I: The Acrobat	21
1.1 <i>From head to heart</i>	21
1.2 <i>Bible readers in context</i>	27
1.3 <i>Bible readers in action</i>	36
1.4 <i>Sermon on rebirth</i>	36
1.5 <i>Sermon on duty towards the poor</i>	40
1.6 <i>Concluding remarks</i>	47
Part II: The Project-maker	49
Grosse Aufsatz.....	49
2.1 <i>Text edition</i>	49
2.2 <i>GA part one</i>	51
2.3 <i>Addressing insiders and outsiders</i>	52
2.4 <i>Seizing the acceptable time (A)</i>	55
<i>Excursus: Pastoral eschatology</i>	58
2.5 <i>Seizing the acceptable time (B)</i>	63
2.6 <i>Revealing God's kingdom</i>	65
2.7 <i>Directing active passivity</i>	67
2.8 <i>Divine laundering of capital</i>	71
2.9 <i>The good soil of Halle</i>	73
GA2	76
3.1 <i>GA part two</i>	76
3.2 <i>Discourses of reform</i>	77
3.3 <i>Seedling nurseries and mud holes of indecency</i>	84
3.4 <i>Personalizing the organization</i>	86
3.5 <i>From doves to eagles</i>	88
3.6 <i>Records of providence</i>	90
3.7 <i>Orphanage – the centre of an industry</i>	95
3.8 <i>Food for stomach and soul</i>	97
3.9 <i>Pastoral formation</i>	104
3.10 <i>Mimicking Paul</i>	109
<i>Excursus: Trumpet voices and apocalyptic mirrors</i>	113
3.11 <i>Bible business</i>	118
GA3	123
4.1 <i>GA part three</i>	123
4.2 <i>Capital loans and trading</i>	125
4.3 <i>Luxury and disinterest</i>	128
4.4 <i>Changing the world from the pulpit</i>	130
4.5 <i>Concluding remarks</i>	132
Part III: The Shepherd	135

5.1 Introduction.....	135
5.2 Paraenetical and pastoral lectures.....	135
5.3 Collegia for godliness.....	138
5.4 Reassessment of Pauline authority.....	140
5.5 Scriptural cura pastoralis.....	143
The Titus lectures	147
6.1 Introduction.....	147
6.2 Longinian intensity.....	150
6.3 List and preface	151
7.1 First lecture: Tit 1:1–4.....	153
7.2 Second lecture: Titus: 1: 5–9.....	157
7.3 Third lecture: Tit 1:10–16.....	160
7.4 Fourth Lecture: Tit 2:1–6.....	163
7.5 Fifth Lecture: Tit 2:7–10.....	167
7.6 Sixth Lecture: Tit 2:11–15	172
7.7 Seventh Lecture: Tit 2:11–15.....	176
7.8 Eighth Lecture: Tit 3:1–7	179
7.9 Ninth Lecture: Tit 3:1–7.....	182
7.10 Tenth Lecture: Tit 3:8–15.....	186
7.11 Concluding remarks.....	188
8. General conclusion.....	190
Summary.....	193
Resumé.....	195
Bibliography	199

INTRODUCTION

The first to take up the idea of comparing August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) to a project-maker was Udo Sträter.¹ He refers to Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, who in 1697 published *An Essay upon Projects*. Defoe here described his age as a projecting age, and the project-maker as a common figure. His *Essay* begins with the words: “Necessity, which is allow’d to be the Mother of Invention, has so violently agitated the Wits of men at this time, that it seems not at all improper, by way of distinction, to call it, The Projecting Age.”² This description also fits the time of August Herman Francke’s reform movement. He came to Halle in 1692, where he held a position as professor at the new university, and, at the same time, worked as a minister in Glaucha on the outskirts of the city. The reform, the institutions of which are today known as the *Francke Foundations*, was inaugurated in 1695 and was consolidated in a large orphanage, the construction of which was begun in 1698. Francke’s project rapidly expanded from the church in Glaucha to several devotional sites spread out over a pastoral landscape which had its main centres on the university campus, on the grounds of the orphanage itself and in local churches. This topographical spread is central to our understanding of Halle Pietism and its professionalization of pastoral care.

The orphanage was a synecdoche, so to speak, of industry, with a cluster of schools, manufacturing businesses, student dormitories and refectories, workshops, a printing house, a bookshop and an apothecary’s shop. The movement strove towards financial autonomy and towards a reform of society by means of education, rationalized charitable work and student funding. The orphanage at Halle did indeed belong to the *projecting age*. According to Defoe, this age was born out of a period of military conflict, and it faced the disorder as well as the technological innovation that war brought with it.³ Francke too represents the post-Thirty Year’s War era as the backdrop against which his reform developed.⁴ It offers a cure to the corruption caused by war. We could say that the *projecting age* was a reaction to the ‘crises of the seventeenth century’.⁵ War had led to reform. The

¹ Udo Sträter: “Der hallische Pietismus zwischen Utopie und Weltgestaltung”, *HF17:1* (2005), pp. 32–34.

² Daniel Defoe: *Essay upon Projects*, London 1697, p. 1. Defoe speaks of “Projectors”, but I prefer the term “project-makers”, which is closer to the German.

³ Defoe, *Essay*, pp. 1–5.

⁴ See part two, chapter three.

⁵ As described by Hartmut Lehmann: “Saving one’s Soul in an Age of Crises”, in *JEMC* (2014) pp. 207–217.

post-war setting also gives a hint at why the project-maker's "wiz" had become *agitated*.

Sträter observed that the project-maker combines utopian ideas with hard-headed business enterprise. This "Spagatstellung" made the figure disreputable.⁶ The question, then, is whether Francke was a project-maker, who sold bubbles inflated with the air of great words, or whether – by taking the character and the purpose of his project into consideration – such a claim is misleading. The one place where he most clearly shows himself as a project-maker is in the third part of the *Grosse Aufsatz*.⁷ Yet according to Sträter, Francke was promoting not a soap-bubble project but a "Reich-Gottes-Projekte".⁸ This is, to my mind, a fair assessment. Francke is comparable to a project-maker, but the character of his project must be taken into account, and the orphanage was certainly more solid than airy beguilement. Nonetheless it is worthwhile to linger briefly over Defoe's description, since he in fact conveyed a nuanced understanding of the project-maker.⁹ On the one hand, the figure is, beyond doubt, a trickster, a dabbler, a dilettante, who profits from speculative ideas "blown up by the air of great Words".¹⁰ On the other hand he is often enough a skilled entrepreneur, whose projects are of benefit for the amelioration of society.¹¹ There are good and honest project-makers with ingenuity and integrity, and there are others with neither. The misfortune is that there are "more Geese than Swans", and the number of dishonest project-makers, "who like Cuckolds bear the reproach of other Peoples Crimes" is consequently the reason why the term has become pejorative.¹² So far so good. The project-maker is a transitory figure, a squinter. He uses his wiz, his brains, for inventing, planning and projecting, but his wiz are agitated, and his innovations are

⁶ Sträter, *Weltgestaltung*, p. 33.

⁷ See part two and my analysis of GA3.

⁸ Sträter, *Weltgestaltung*, pp. 33–34

⁹ Defoe distinguishes invention and inventors, on the one hand, and projects and projectors on the other. The contemporary project-maker is a distorted version of the inventor, whose faculties are not unrelated to those of Cain. In fact Noah's Ark and the tower of Babel are adduced as examples of *projects* which at once are ridiculous and ingenious. Defoe, *Essay*, pp. 19–20.

¹⁰ Defoe, *Essay*, p. 13.

¹¹ "Projects of the nature I Treat about, are doubtless in general of publick Advantage, as they tend to Improvement of Trade, and Employment of the Poor, and the Circulation and Increase of the publick Stock of the Kingdom; but this is suppos'd of such as are built on the honest Basis of Ingenuity and Improvement; in which, tho' I'll allow the Author to aim primarily at his own Advantage, yet with the circumstances of Publick Benefit added." Defoe, *Essay*, p. 10–11. The honest "Projector" is also described on p. 35. He contents himself with the reward of his invention.

¹² Defoe, *Essay*, p. 33.

laden with risk. The purpose of Francke's business was not economic progress. His *Grosse Aufsatz* – of which more anon – certainly bears witness to his nose for business, his *Geschäftsgeist*, but the target of his project was an educational and devotional reform of man. His business and trading plans were *Nebengeschäfte*, means to raise funds in order to improve society. Yet the pertinent question is, can a Christian industry be supported by profit from trading? What is the appropriate way of advertising such a combined effort?

One aspect of Francke, which is not linked to Defoe's figure, but still inheres to the project-maker, pertains to his theological alter ego: the *novator*, one who fuses sound doctrine with new ideas. I discovered the link in Ludvig Holberg's novel *Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum* (1741).¹³ In the Latin tale one of the few words rendered in the vernacular is "Proiekt-Macher", which is added to explain *novator*.¹⁴ The term *novator* here stands interchangeable with project-maker and this, I propose, adds a theological aspect to the character: the project-maker is a figure of disorder, a schismatic. He breaks old and makes new traditions, and his innovation is a threat to the *hierarchic* order of society.¹⁵ When looking up the term "novatores" in Zedler's *Universallexikon*, we find the following concise definition:

NOVATORES, so werden alle diejenigen anietzo genennet, welche allerhand Neuerungen in die reine Lehre einmischen wollen. Humble, *Novator ἄτακτος*, und insonderheit die Vorrede dazu.¹⁶

The reference to Humble's *Novator ἄτακτος* concerns a book published in 1728 with royal privilege by the Swedish bishop of Karlskrona, Gustaf Adolf Humble (1674–1741), who in three years had frequented the universities in Rostock, Berlin, Wittenberg, Halle and Leipzig.¹⁷ In the *Universallexikon* only the first part of Humble's definition is given, the other half, with the more specific characterization, being omitted. It is in this part that

¹³ Ludvig Holberg: *Nicolai Klimii Iter Subterraneum*, *Niels Klims Underjordiske Rejse*, Copenhagen 1741–1745.

¹⁴ Holberg, *Klim*, Caput IV, vol. 2, p. 82. In the Danish translation the *novator*/*Proiekt-Macher* is either rendered as "Projektmager" or translated as "forslagsstifter" (proposer) or explained as "fredsforstyrrer" (peace-breaker).

¹⁵ Project-making, in Holberg's subterranean world, is a risky business. If a project-maker comes up with an idea, and it is accepted by the authorities, he faces prospects of fame and success. If however the idea is discarded, he is to be punished with the death penalty or – in Nicolai Klim's case – with banishment to the firmament. Holberg, *Klim*, Caput IX, vol. 2, p. 305. See also the forthcoming article by Thomas Velle: "Telling True Lies. Metanarration, Intertextuality and (Un)reliability in Holberg's *Iter subterraneum*", in: *European Journal for Scandinavian Studies*, 2016, 2 (forthcoming).

¹⁶ Zedler's *Universallexikon*, vol 24, p. 770.

¹⁷ *Kirkeleksikon for Norden*, Fredrik Nielsen (ed), 1904, vol. 2, p. 491.

Humble specifies the *novator* as an ἄτακτος, one in disorder – a term he takes from 1 Thess 5:14. Moreover, he defines the *novator* as a peace-breaker, a schismatic – a *Pietist*.¹⁸ Humble's volume of more than 400 pages is an open attack on conventicles and Pietists, whom he disowns as *novatores* and schismatic voices. Holberg could very well have known this text, but it is not important in our context. The point is rather that project-making in this double meaning, inventing new business and new theology too, incurred a double risk.

When comparing Francke to a project-maker, we must take into account the character, purpose and production of his work. A real and a large edifice lent support to his words.¹⁹ Francke was additionally accused of being a *novator* – a disrupter and a schismatic. Indeed, the reform project in Halle faced animadversions from two sides. Some opponents charged the orphanage with being an exchange bank, others called it a reliquary or a sect.²⁰

Francke carried out projects as means to support the reform and the pastoral formation of Christian believers. The sole target was neither profit for the sake of profit, nor invention for the sake of invention, but both profit and invention were vehicles for supporting and amplifying the reform. The business was a devotional business, protected with royal privileges and the support of benefactors and affluent subscribers. Its management included a trusted team, which initiated a manufacturing industry and engaged in commercial trading plans. Francke acknowledged that the parsimony of his pious, devout, selfless, unmarried business associates gave him an advantage over others. Devotion thus showed itself to be a profitable and a versatile characteristic apt for worldly engagement as well as withdrawal.²¹ The reform movement at Halle consequently required a theology, which could lend support to business enterprise, education and devotion. Such a design was construed by means of Biblical appropriation, and particularly the Pastoral Letters offered in this regard an apt *point de repère*.

¹⁸ Humble's *Novator ἄτακτος*, eller, *Om några Nygirigas oordentliga privata Conventicler*, was published in 1728. The book was translated into German and the preface, mentioned in the *Universallexikon*, was printed together with a book review of the German translation in the 1730 edition of Löscher's *Unschuldige Nachrichten*: pp. 98–113. See particularly p. 101 and 105. Here we find the extended definition of the term and the explicit link to the Pietists: "Und dergleichen Novatores hat man über 30. Jahr zurück in der Christenheit, und unserer Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche in gedruckten Schrifften mit dem Namen Pietisten ausgezeichnet gesehen."

¹⁹ Stäter, *Weltgestaltung*, p. 26.

²⁰ See part two, chapter two.

²¹ For an outline of the relationship between withdrawal and engagement see Mejrurp et al., "General Introduction", in *JEMC* (2014), pp. 195–205.

Francke's reform is a composite phenomenon, and when entering the field of Halle Pietism, various aspects must be taken into account: education, pastoral formation, erudition, charity, rationality, piety, innovation, business, advertising strategies and biblical hermeneutics. I propose to subsume it under the headline: *Grand Prospects of Halle Pietism*. The word prospect offers a) a view of a landscape, b) a view of the future, a likelihood of an event, and c) an opportunity for prosperity.²² This headline furthermore alludes to the predominant textual focus of my study; the three figures in the subtitle to my three analytical keys.

Grand prospects of Halle Pietism
The Acrobat, the Project-maker and the Shepherd

The aim of my study is threefold: a) to investigate the way August Hermann Francke staged his reform project at Halle for a selected and supportive public; b) to explore the strong focus on the Pastoral Letters within Halle Pietism; c) to reshape definitions and hone a hitherto imprecise terminology by means of a cultural-historical de-mythologization and a focus on biblical exegesis. On the basis of two sermons, a prospect, ten lectures and three figures as my analytical keys, I approach Halle Pietism with the ambition to offer a contribution to the field, admittedly vast, of interdisciplinary research which surrounds it. The chosen texts revolve around the years 1697, 1698, 1703 and 1704 and – bearing their edition history in mind – span the period from the beginning of the reform movement at Halle in 1695 until the death of its founder, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727). The acrobat, the project-maker and the shepherd are lay figures, which are inferable from the historical sources. Each figure emphasizes a particular thematic thread and indicates my way of approach. The three figures overlap, and the progression from part one (acrobat) to part two (project-maker) and part three (shepherd) can be interpreted as a grammatical construction with a subject, verb, direct and indirect object: *the acrobat makes projects for shepherds*. The acrobat and the shepherd further interrelate by representing the prerequisite and the objective of devotional life.

Part one: The acrobat

In part one I have placed the acrobat as the controlling idea. I use this analytical construction to emphasize aspects pertaining to the religious believer's competence and praxis. The ability to master the Bible is one example of *acrobatic* skill. The reform at Halle blended ideas from all sorts of Christian theology and tradition. The means and the standard for this

²² Grimm gives all three meanings. The first two are inferred from *prospectus* (aus-sicht, fernsicht), the third from *prosperare* – to have good fortune. *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, vol. 13, p. 2173.

blending was Scripture; not the Bible alone, but the skill of mastering it. That competence required linguistic, exegetical and devotional training; Francke had such training, and was keen to convey it to his students as well. In many cases the scriptural references in the historical texts are finely chiselled works of art. To the modern reader such references may easily be overlooked, but on closer examination they turn out to have been selected with linguistic, exegetical and thematic precision. The Bible excerpts and references generate a message, at times orthographically rendered in Greek or Hebrew type, with an inherent logic that was understood by the recipients. The students in Halle were consequently trained to master the Bible – its *sensus literalis*, the *indoles* of the authors' affect and inspiration – and to apply it²³ – to a degree that allowed them to pass it on to others. Mastery of the Bible is one aspect I seek to highlight with the figure – or under the headline – *acrobat*. The target is to bring out the level of virtuosity and technical expertise which pertained to this endeavour. Francke quoted the Bible in all situations, not least to legitimize his work as a reformer, fundraiser, minister and professor – and to defend himself against accusations. To him the Bible was a balancing pole.

I also use the acrobat as an instrument to disrobe fixed concepts, especially theological ones. My construction is theoretically informed by Max Weber's religious virtuoso²⁴ and by Peter Sloterdijk's notion of the acrobat and its *anthropo-technic* configuration.²⁵ By comparing the true, converted, reborn believer to an acrobat, the focus shifts from dogmatically burdened concepts to how the believer enacts and displays his faith. The acrobat must constantly practise to keep his virtuosity and skill in shape. Francke inculcates in his students a similar ideal. He mentions no acrobat, but instead the apprentice apostle Timothy, whom Paul encouraged to do exer-

²³ See part three, chapter six for the three hermeneutical principles: *sensus literalis*, *indoles*, *applicatio*.

²⁴ Max Weber: *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, 2009, p. 99. I find Max Weber's work on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism inspiring, but also difficult to work with. I shall offer one or two condensed remarks on the work in part two. I find the general idea stimulating that the internalization of religious doctrine impacts ethics and praxis and generates an impetus for cultural and economic activity. To avoid loopholes, I account for the cultural outcome of the Weberian construct with Sloterdijk's notions (see part one) and the economic aspect with Gerhard Bondi's (see part two). The religious virtuoso shares traits with Sloterdijk's acrobat.

²⁵ Peter Sloterdijk: *Du Mußt dein Leben ändern, Über Anthropotechnik*, 2009, p. 307.

cises in godliness (cf. 1 Tim 4:7).²⁶ The model believer must *constantly* practise. He must also have expertise in erudition, piety, generosity and pedagogy. In the Titus lectures, Francke conveys such an ideal to his students: as teachers they must be tall trees reaching upwards but with long branches hanging down and offering assistance and fruit to weaker students who have no ladder.²⁷ This ideal shows well enough an acrobatic position. Indeed pliability and athletic competence chime in with such notions as providential guidance and *Gelassenheit*, central to Halle Pietism.

By focusing on training and performativity, notions such as *true*, *converted* and *reborn* become more tangible, and some of the contested and dichotomizing connotations of terms such as rebirth and conversion are smoothed away. In the research literature, as pointed out by Jonathan Strom, too much focus has been allotted to the conversion struggle as a trademark of Halle Pietism. This, then, has led to the assumption that the process of conversion could be reconstructed in a schematic tripartite pattern.²⁸ Conversion and rebirth, however, are never-ending balancing acts, which makes apt the comparison to the acrobat.²⁹ The point about constant training is not restricted to a fixed set of words or reducible to a pattern, but it can be made with interchangeable expressions. This is where the Bible shows itself as an inexhaustible resource. I shall draw further attention to this in part one and in the analysis of two sermons central to the reform project and a related theology.

My attempt to wrestle fixed concepts free from self-evident meanings is informed by cultural history and biblical exegesis. I do not subscribe entirely to Sloterdijk's grubbing out of religious terminology. He willingly overthrows the distinction between religion and superstition, whereby he forgoes important nuances.³⁰ I propose to relate the acrobat to the shepherd. The first figure is a means to divest theologically and historiographically burdened concepts of unnecessary layers. The acrobat is the demythologized and doctrinally muted version of the true, converted, born-again Pietist believer. The figure of the shepherd indicates how the believer was redressed – and addressed – in the pastoral landscape of Halle. Between the acrobat and the shepherd, I have placed the project-maker. This figure

²⁶ *Timotheus*, pp. 41–42: “Und wir haben nicht Ursach zu zweiffeln / Timotheus sey in einer beständigen Übung zur Gottseligkeit gestanden. Denn es bedarff die Gottseligkeit gewiß einer täglichen und ernstlichen Übung. Saget mir / ihr Studiosi Theologiae, welches ist denn eure Übung an der Gottseligkeit?” See part three for the context of this text.

²⁷ See part three and the analysis of the fourth Titus lecture.

²⁸ Strom, *Narratives*, p. 302. See also part one.

²⁹ See part one.

³⁰ I shall return to this in part one.

represents the worldly *negotium* which was required in order to fund, maintain and amplify the reform project that was to cultivate the acrobats and shepherds.

Part two: The project-maker

In part two the emblematic figure is the project-maker. In Defoe's definition, Francke would come out as half swan, half goose. Moreover, the devotional business he undertook led to the accusation of his being a disorderly schismatic. The main text for this second part is Francke's *Grosse Aufsatz* (GA). It was written in 1704 and circulated among a closed group of readers and supportive benefactors. Since it was never published, it has a thin history of reception.³¹ In it we encounter Francke as a reformer, a minister, an educator, a devotional project-maker, and an acrobat steering the middle course in order to avoid accusations from a wider and more cynical society.³²

GA thus shows a range of aspects of Francke's *Geschäftsgeist*. The word project-maker does not frequently occur in my study³³ – but the emblematic, transitory, squinting figure of the agitated wiz certainly does. The term is informative for the double task that Francke undertook by both founding and advertising the reform movement, and by negotiating with the greater world in order to keep the devotional business going. In addition to this, I shall examine Francke's references to the Port Royal Bible and the *Virtutes apostolorum*, and the prophetic controversy between him and Andreas Stiefels.³⁴ This has not before been thoroughly worked out.

Reading the three parts of GA together gives me a chance to present the interrelated grand prospects of Halle Pietism. GA is a well-known source in the research literature, but no one reads it in its entirety.³⁵ I propose a full study, which is a comprehensive investigation which gyrates around a set of themes that run as red threads through the document, but with due attention to the respective character and aim of each of the three parts. My study will contribute to the research literature by investigating how

— The Bible was used as an instrument to stage the reform;

³¹ GA was composed of three parts, comprising a medley of themes and aims. See part two for further clarification.

³² See the analysis of GA1.

³³ When referring to the *Francke Foundations*, I fall back on terms such as reform, project, movement, work, enterprise, orphanage and industry.

³⁴ I here follow a hint given, but in no way worked out or explained, by Podczeck. See the excursus in part two.

³⁵ The exception is Otto Podczeck, who in 1962 published a critical edition of it. See part two for further introduction to this edition.

- Eschatology was used as a means for raising funds;
- The reform reshaped the ecclesiastic centre into a pastoral landscape.

Part three: The shepherd

The shepherd is the controlling idea of part three. With this emblematic figure, we turn to the core of Halle Pietism. The pastoral configuration of this core has, to my mind, not received due scholarly attention so far. The objective of the reform at Halle was to educate, train and shape shepherds. In GA, the pastoral formation is presented as the brand of the university and the result, the preceptor, as the finest product of the orphanage industry. In part three I pursue this theme in an investigation of a series of paraenetical lectures delivered by Francke in 1703 on Paul's Letter to Titus.³⁶ Their *Sitz im Leben* was the pastoral landscape of Halle, on which a tireless lecturing activity took place. The landscape, the lectures and the paraenetical corpus are valuable lenses for the contemporizing reception of the Pastoral Letters. I shall present all of this together with a close reading of the ten Titus Lectures: which have not before been studied extensively, despite the fact that they are part of a corpus well known in the research literature.³⁷

Halle Pietism contributes a significant chapter to the reception history of the Pastoral Letters. Biblical scholars have long acknowledged this,³⁸ but until now it has had little, if any, impact on other research areas. This Pastoral preference is nevertheless crucial for the pedagogical, political and theological configuration of Halle Pietism. My concern with biblical reception and hermeneutics brought me to the field of rhetoric. *Contrafacta* are means to import artistic impulses into Pietistic media. In the Titus Lectures, Francke comments on his own use of a theatrical term: "Aufführung". The term is ticklish due to its theatrical connotations, but it is nevertheless used to indicate how students should *display* virtue and good behaviour.³⁹ Simplicity and the simple style were apt means for expressing elevated and invigorated words. Halle Pietism was influenced by a Longinian tradition, without however being as explicit about it as the contemporary French de-

³⁶ Further introduction will follow in part three.

³⁷ See part three, chapter five for references.

³⁸ Hermann von Lips: "Von den 'Pastoralbriefen' zum 'Corpus Pastorale'. Eine Hallesche Sprachschöpfung und ihr modernes Pendant als Funktionsbestimmung dreier neutestamentlicher Briefe", 1994, pp. 49–71. Friedemann Krumbiegel: *Erziehung in den Pastoralbriefen, Ein Konzept zur Konsolidierung der Gemeinden*, 2013. Martin Winter: "Die 'Pastoralbriefe' – ihr Name im Licht der popularphilosophischen Seelenleitung", (2013/4), pp. 232–250.

³⁹ See part three and the second Titus Lecture.

bate and reception of Longinus' treatise on the Sublime.⁴⁰ The idea that terrific power and rhetorical intensity spring from the orator's capacity to be seized and given speech by heaven was nevertheless prevalent in Halle Pietism. To this the Lectures on Titus bear witness.

The recent study of Tanja Täubner, on the praxis of meditation in Francke's pedagogy, relates the notion of *paideia* to the training of students and teachers at Halle. Instead of assuming, with Täubner, that Francke took the concept of *paideia* from a classical Socratic, Platonic context,⁴¹ an attentive reading of the Titus Lectures shows that he had in mind the biblical appropriation of the concept. He interprets the first part of Titus 2:12: "teaching us" (παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς) in the following way: grace is the universal schoolmaster, who takes manhood to school in order to teach it self-renunciation and a virtuous, upright and godly life.⁴² Paul Anton (1661–1730) and Francke shared the ideal of drawing guidelines for cultivating and instructing students directly from the Bible.⁴³

Juliane Jacobi has argued that Halle Pietism contributed to the civilizing of Christianity ("Verbürgerlichung des Christentums").⁴⁴ She had no need to turn to Karl Barth or Martin Schmidt for support of her thesis, but could have found it in the Pastoral Letters and in the way in which they were used in Halle.⁴⁵ The theology comprised in these letters has been characterized as working towards a civilization of Christianity ("Verbürgerlichung des Christentums").⁴⁶ Unlike the early Pauline Epistles, the Pastorals rationalize notions such as faith, doctrine, truth and knowledge. Faith is no longer a paradox, it is a tangible truth, which can be understood and taught, and which must be put on display and comply with a respectful and voluntarily submissive attitude towards the political authorities.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ See Ludwig Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, 1869, p. 410. For more on the French reception see Claudia Henn: *Simplizität, Naivität, Einfalt. Studien zur ästhetischen Terminologie in Frankreich und in Deutschland 1674–1771*, Zürich 1974.

⁴¹ "Es scheint mir daher, als übertrage er das antike Konzept der *Paideia* in den Kontext der christlichen Seelsorge: Den Prediger identifiziert er als geistlichen Lehrer und den Predigthörer als dessen Schüler." Tanja Täubner: 'Zum ändern soltu meditirn', *Die Meditationspraktiken in der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes*, in *HF38*, p. 8.

⁴² See part three and the sixth and the seventh Titus lectures.

⁴³ See part three.

⁴⁴ Juliane: *Pietismus und Pädagogik im Konstitutionsprozeß der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Historisch-systematische Untersuchung der Pädagogik August Hermann Franckes (1663-1727)* ([1976] 2002) pp. 27–28.

⁴⁵ See part three. Compare the eighth and the ninth Titus Lectures, in which Francke expounds the meaning of Titus 3:1–7.

⁴⁶ Martin Dibelius, Hans Conzelmann: *Die Pastoralbriefe*, in *HNT 13* (1955), p. 7.

⁴⁷ See part three, chapter seven.

The pastoral preference in Halle Pietism has not impressed Lutheran church historians. Erhard Peschke wrote a whole chapter on the reform of the study of theology in Halle.⁴⁸ But he failed to see how the *Pastoral Letters* were systematically used as a matrix and a trademark for the reform movement. Training and modelling university students would of itself lead to a reform of the church, since they were the future pastors and teachers in society.⁴⁹ The Bernardine catchphrase for this ideal was *better shepherds will better society*⁵⁰ – but the actual means to realize it was by applying the Pastoral Letters to their education. The pastoral preference in Halle Pietism has been more evident for biblical scholars than for church historians.⁵¹ But due to the scope of Biblical studies, the comprehensive context and *Sitz im Leben* of the reception of the Pastoral Letters in Halle Pietism has not yet been firmly researched. The third part of my study will perhaps amend this want.

⁴⁸ Erhard Peschke: *Studien zur Theologie August Hermann Franckes*, vol. 1-2, 1963–1966, *STF* 2, pp. 127–218. The same applies to Johannes Wallmann, who also recounts the reform of theology: *Der Pietismus*, 1990, pp. 72–75. Martin Brecht is the exception. He alludes to Francke's preference for the Pastoral Letters, but not in any substantial way: "Die Sonntage sollten besonders der Pflege der Frömmigkeit gewidmet sein. Mit all dem wurde ein geistlicher Lebensstil eingeübt, der vor allem an Franckes Verständnis der Pastoralbriefe orientiert war und dem somit eine gewisse Enge anhaftete". "August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus", in *GdP* 1 (2001), 472.

⁴⁹ This is evident to Peschke, Wallmann and Brecht. Cf. the previous note.

⁵⁰ The reference to this saying ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux occurs thrice in Francke's texts. See part two for references.

⁵¹ The reception of the Pastoral Letters in the 16th–18th centuries shows that the Letters were frequently applied for propaedeutic teaching, particularly of theological students. Krumbiegel, *Erziehung*, p. 24. See also part three.

PART I: THE ACROBAT

1.1 FROM HEAD TO HEART

In Francke's famous conversion narrative, an interesting *vie arrière* is constructed. Before his conversion, he tells us, he knew perfectly well how to distinguish theological doctrines and locate them in their biblical context. Yet something was missing, or something was added after his conversion, namely the true meaning of theology.

Meine theologiam faste ich in den Kopff, und nicht in hertz, und war vielmehr eine todte wissenschaft als eine lebendige Erkenntniß. Ich wuste zwar wol zu sagen, was Glaube, Wiedergeburt, Rechtfertigung, Erneuerung sey, wuste auch wol eins vom anderen zu unterscheiden, und es mit den Sprüchen der Schrift zu beweisen, aber von dem allen fand ich nichts in meinem hertzen, und hatte nichts mehr als was im Gedechtniß und phantasie schwebte.¹

I read this passage as a hermeneutical progression from doctrine to experience. Experience is the more important, but once it is established or stabilized, the theological doctrines are resumed and reassessed. Conversion or the transition from head to heart, from 'dead knowledge' to 'living experience', does not abnegate doctrine, but makes it capable of convincing and seizing a man, just like the Bible.² I mention this to introduce a challenge that faces the reader of historical texts by Pietists. How should one analyse and interpret religious sincerity and truth? Francke expresses 'inner', 'converted', 'true', 'reborn' experiences in a theological language, hence the notions "Glaube", "Wiedergeburt", "Rechtfertigung", "Erneuerung" in the passage quoted above, but mostly he remains faithful to the idea of situating such notions – or similar expressions – in scripture. Indeed, the Bible is the best and most preferred source of, and means to inculcate, true Christianity.

In the following, I shall present some of the challenges pertaining to Halle Pietism and its research literature, and how I propose to embrace or avoid challenges and loopholes. I shall use the acrobat as an analytical figure to illustrate central features of Pietist theology and to indicate the acrobatic skill with which the Bible was used.

Conversion, or the transition from head to heart is no easy move; it implies malleability, renunciation, self-scrutiny, training and a willingness to

¹ Markus Matthias: *Lebensläufe August Hermann Franckes*, 1999. p. 12.

² A good example of how the deficiency of the conversion narrative's *vie arrière* was later fully compensated, is found in Francke's Titus Lectures of 1703. In the sixth lecture on Titus 2:11-15, he alludes to a Christological debate based on Titus 2:14. Francke finds the scriptural evidence in the debate poor and therefore adds a number of references, which are "klar und evident, und greiffen ins Hertz hinein, und lassen den Menschen nichts dagegen aufbringen." Francke, *LPI*, p. 110. See part three.

change one's life. Is there a better term for this? A term which expresses the shift of pace, the change of mind, heart, will or affect – or at least gives an idea about what it implies? In the research literature on Halle Pietism, *conversion* (“Bekehrung”) is a key term, and it has been formalized as a recipe with three ingredients: ‘divine stirring’ (“göttliche Rührung”), ‘repentance struggle’ (“Busskampf”), and ‘breakthrough to grace’ (“Durchbruch”).³ Jonathan Strom has rightly warned against such reconstructions which confine conversion to a schematic pattern.⁴ The notions *Rührung*, *Bußkampf*, *Durchbruch* are certainly important, but so are other notions deployed in sermons, lectures or edifying discourses, either in accordance with the liturgical year, biblical literature or theological doctrines. The point is, that Francke is perfectly capable of making himself clear with a varied use of terms and notions. So why restrict our reading to a certain predetermined selection? The problem with a schematic pattern is double: we tend to look for certain markers in the texts at the cost of others. We also tend to ascribe to our selection a trait of normativity, or perhaps arrange them as sequential steps towards an end. Francke frequently builds up an argument by enumerating three or more points, but for rhetorical reasons, since the sense of progression typically conflates all of them. Devotional theological arguments tend to fluctuate.

We certainly need terms for distinguishing true believers from the others (the unconverted, the moderate, the feigned, the pretentious, the doubting and the fearful), but the challenge is to avoid, as far as it is possible, imprecise and historiographically contested terms. In a continuum with conversion, rebirth and born-again are terms frequently applied to describe the Pietists and indicate their sincerity. The notion of rebirth is biblically sup-

³ Jonathan Strom: “Pietist Experience and Narratives of Conversion”, 2014, pp. 301–302.

⁴ Strom mentions that a number of historians have used Francke's conversion experience to construct a template of three steps: divine stirring (*göttliche Rührung*), repentance struggle (*Busskampf*), and breakthrough to grace (*Durchbruch*). Strom, *Narratives*, p. 302.

ported and developed;⁵ it is a commonplace in sermons, devotional and edifying literature, and is a term applied in modern scholarship. The wide usage of the term does not make its meaning less evasive. Is it a descriptive or normative term; who applies it and to whom? An unsweeping definition would be to say that rebirth is a marker of sincerity, which adds the determiner ‘true’ to Christianity and Christian believers. The question, however, remains, how is this accomplished?

In research literature drawing on church historical definitions, rebirth is taken to be a shift or a deviation from the Lutheran doctrine of justification.⁶ To me it is not clear whether or not the shift denotes an element of contempt, since it challenges the Lutheran heritage. Rebirth is placed between Luther and Melancthon, between the theological and the juridical (forensic) understanding of justification; and along this line of thought, rebirth comes to be associated with all sorts of ‘isms’: separatism, spiritualism and mysticism.⁷ In regard to Halle Pietism, the doctrine allegedly undergoes a development from Spener to Francke, where the former understood it as ‘godly marvel’, the latter as an endeavour realizable by man.⁸ Reasonable as it may be, little does it do to inform us as to how rebirth affects the believer or how it could be detected or constructed in the texts. One of the challenges of using the term is an implied estrangement. Reborn believers are either too familiar or too strange. The difference between them and us is irritating, and this becomes a problem when Erhard Peschke, to whom I shall return, claims that Francke’s biblical hermeneutics is in-

⁵ Two central passages are John 3:1–16 recounting Nicodemus’ nightly conversation with Jesus, and Titus 3:5 (“he saved us, not because of works done by us in righteousness, but according to his own mercy, by the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit”), which is cited to support the idea of baptism as a means to rebirth: “das bad der Wiedergeburt”; see Peschke, *Predigten I*, 1987, p. 179. Martin Dibelius, in his commentary to Titus 3:5, conveys the idea of a “Vulgarisierung” of the term. It was once associated with mystery, ecstasy and rapture, but in Titus 3:5 it has become “das grundlegende Erlebnis aller Christen”. Dibelius, *An Titus*, 1913, p. 217: “Zwischen der Wiedergeburtsvorstellung der Mysterien und dem Gedanken unserer Stelle besteht also in zwei Punkten ein Unterschied: Tit 3:5 weiß nichts von Ekstase, sondern nur von dauernder Kraftwirkung eines neuen Lebens; die Wiedergeburt ist dementsprechend nicht nur dem einzelnen Mysten möglich; sie ist vielmehr das grundlegende Erlebnis aller Christen.”

⁶ Martin Schmidt: *Wiedergeburt und neuer Mensch I*, 1969, pp. 169–194.

⁷ I am here paraphrasing a passage from Juliane Jacobi’s dissertation of 1976 influenced by Martin Schmidt. Jacobi, *Konstitutionsprozeß*, p. 46.

⁸ Jacobi, *Konstitutionsprozeß*, p. 46.

tended for born-again believers.⁹ This assertion divides the waters, and biblical hermeneutics consequently becomes either (existentially, soteriologically) decisive or irrelevant. Markus Matthias has clarified that rebirth in regard to biblical hermeneutics is to be understood as a change of will and a change of affect in the Bible reader. The “Affizierung des Willens” is a way to open up the biblical text and seize the reader. The discernment of reborn and un-reborn believers consequently becomes a matter of different levels of emotional capture and will.¹⁰ This clarification helps us to distinguish the one from the other without entailing a sharp dualism between the children of God and the children of the world. The idea of Bible reading and different levels of emotional capture is to my mind promising: especially because the Bible was a primary devotional source which directly transmitted faith without dogmatic filters.¹¹

I shall return to Bible reading and Bible readers, but first introduce further the notion of the acrobat. As easy as it sounds, the transition from head to heart, from ‘dead knowledge’ to ‘living experience’ is no lightweight endeavour. It may very well be described as an acrobatic effort and competence, which is why I find Sloterdijk and the concept of ‘anthropo-technics’ interesting.

Sloterdijk’s acrobat

In his book *Du mußt dein Leben ändern*, Peter Sloterdijk sets out the ambition of replacing what he regards as the traditional and imprecise terminology of religious discourse with one focusing on training and exercise. The problem is not religion, ethics and habitus as phenomena, but the terms with which they are conceptualized. Sloterdijk programmatically states:

⁹ Erhard Peschke: *Studien zur Theologie August Hermann Franckes* 2, 1966, pp. 89–96 and “August Hermann Francke und die Bibel” in *Pietismus und Bibel*, in *AGP* 9 (1970) p. 84: “Wir konnten ferner verfolgen, eine wie grosse Bedeutung der für die ganze Theologie Franckes konstitutiven Idee des *Gegensatzes* zwischen den *Kindern Gottes* und den *Kindern der Welt* auch für die Gestaltung der Hermeneutik zukommt.”

¹⁰ Markus Matthias: “Die Grundlegung der pietistischen Hermeneutik bei August Hermann Francke”, 2011, p. 201: “Allein die Wiedergeburt, nämlich eine bestimmte Affizierung des Willens, heben das Hindernis zwischen der Intention des Textes und dem Ausleger auf und bringen den Verstehensvorgang (im Willen) zum Abschluss. Die Schrift kann nur verstehen, wer als Leser oder Interpret (*ratione subjecti*) von den Affekten ergriffen ist, auf die die Schriften zielen bzw. von denen auch die Schreiber der Texte ergriffen waren. Allein die Affekte sind es, die sich dem Nichtwiedergeborenen nicht in derselben Weise mitteilen wie dem Wiedergeborenen.”

¹¹ Markus Matthias, “Pietism and Protestant Orthodoxy”, 2014, p. 21: “Pietism held that the Christian faith should be directly experienced through reading the Bible and relating it to one’s own life. No institutional or scholarly mediation was necessary.” See also part three, chapter five.

Ich werde zeigen, daß eine Rückwendung zur Religion ebensowenig möglich ist wie eine Rückkehr der Religion – aus dem einfachen Grund, weil es keine ‘Religion’ und keine ‘Religionen’ gibt, sondern nur mißverstandene spirituelle Übungssysteme [...]. Damit wird die leidige Unterscheidungen zwischen ‘wahrer Religion’ und ‘Aberglauben’ gegenstandslos (Sloterdijk, *Leben*, p. 12).

This sweeping abnegation of traditional religious concepts might seem too modern when working with historical texts. Yet some of the theological concepts in our historical texts are more mercurial than they might appear at first sight. Take for instance the phantom terms for religious movements: ‘Jansenism’, ‘Quietism’, ‘Pietism’; terms coined by adversaries to designate their opponents.¹² The debates between Pietists and the Orthodox were also marked by slander and personal prejudice, which generated and fuelled accusations against the other camp.¹³ Could the point of disagreement between the two parties not be summarized as a “mißverstandene spirituelle Übungssysteme”? The point is that theological discourse and terminology often are clouded and need clarification. Despite Sloterdijk’s claim that it is irrelevant to distinguish ‘true religion’ from ‘superstition’, I regard such a distinction as indispensable. But the exercise of pretending it does not exist is stimulating when reading theological texts. To my mind the strength in Sloterdijk’s work is the ‘anthropo-technical’ reassessment of religious and sociological terms: “Wer von der Selbsterzeugung des Menschen spricht, ohne von seiner Formung im übenden Leben zu reden, hat das Thema von vorneherein verfehlt.”¹⁴ To Sloterdijk, the anthropo-technical reassessment is a consequence of the disqualification of traditional religious concepts – but this is not, I would suggest, a requirement for shedding new light on old concepts. Sloterdijk formulates his venture thus:

Es geht in unserem Unternehmen um nicht weniger als um die Einführung einer alternativen Sprache, und mit der Sprache einer veränderten Optik, für eine Gruppe von Phänomenen, für welche die Tradition Ausdrücke wie ‘Spiritualität’, ‘Frömmigkeit’, ‘Moral’, ‘Ethik’ und ‘Askese’ anzubieten pflegte (Sloterdijk, *Leben* p. 14)

¹² See Mette Birkedal Bruun, Kristian Mejrup, Lars Nørgaard: “Quietismus und Jansenismus”. *Pietismus Handbuch* (forthcoming).

¹³ Peschke points out that the debate between Orthodox and Pietist generally was characterized by creative use of language which strove to associate the other with labels and heretical invective. He gives a list of words applied by the Orthodox to Francke, and Francke’s to the Orthodox. This invective use of theological concepts is best kept in mind, when attempting to reconstruct theological positions with these terms. Peschke concludes “Die pietistischen Kämpfe haben nicht zu einer Läuterung und zu einem Verstehen des Gegners geführt, sondern nur eine Verhärtung der Fronten zur Folge gehabt, die bis in die Gegenwart wirksam ist.” Peschke, *Streitschriften*, xix.

¹⁴ Sloterdijk, *Leben*, p. 14.

He shows enviable mastery of the art of seeking new terms for traditional concepts and thereby changing the way they are perceived. I am particularly fond of his notion of the ‘acrobat,’ which I find enlightening for the understanding of the true, converted and born-again believer in Halle Pietism. We do not know how and when the acrobat became an acrobat, and whether anyone authorized his status; besides *this* is not important. The acrobat is an acrobat, and it is his skill, competence and performance that attracts focus. The acrobat is a virtuoso, who has trained and exercised, and on stage the laborious effort is reflected in a masterly achievement. Sloterdijk points out that it is not the somersault which makes the acrobat, but his gestures afterwards: his bow and the smile on his lips.¹⁵ The same could be said of the converted or reborn believer in Halle Pietism. It does not suffice to go to church, pray, meditate, read the Bible and take part in devotional exercises, if it is not done with the *heart*. The believer must display will, affect, competence, moderation, conviction, sincerity, and all of it in a balanced way as a testimony to his having completed the transition from head to heart. The believer must be prepared, stand alert and be ready to be seized by divine inspiration and providential guidance. The acrobat performs in an arena for an audience, whereas the Pietist believer has a less spectacular platform. Yet, even on the orphanage stage, Francke expected his students to *perform* Christian virtues.¹⁶

The acrobat is only one of the notions Sloterdijk applies in his attempt to conceptualize a “nicht-politische Klassenspaltung”.¹⁷ The idea with this distinction is to make clear the difference between exercisers and non-exercisers; a ‘two-speed mankind’.¹⁸ The analogy to born-again and ‘ordinary’ believers is easy to infer. By distinguishing ‘conforming habits’ from ‘changing habits’, conversion becomes a matter of shifting pace and mode, from passivity to activity. The benefit of focusing on training and performativity is that notions, such as *true*, *converted* and *reborn*, become more tangible, and some of the contested and dichotomizing connotations of terms such as rebirth and conversion are smoothed away. Sloterdijk’s work is an excellent tool to strip terms and concepts of their theological

¹⁵ Sloterdijk, *Leben*, p. 307: “Akrobatik ist überall im Spiel, wo es darum geht, das Unmögliche wie eine leichte Übung erscheinen zu lassen. Es genügt also nicht, auf den Seil zu gehen und in der Höhe den *salto mortale* zu schlagen. Die entscheidende Botschaft des Akrobaten an die Mitwelt liegt in dem Lächeln, mit dem er sich nach dem Auftritt verbeugt. Noch deutlicher spricht sie in der nonchalanten Handbewegung vor dem Abgang, jener Geste, die man für einen Gruß an die oberen Ränge halten könnte. In Wirklichkeit übermittelt sie eine moralische Lektion, die soviel besagt wie: Für unsereinen ist der gleichen gar nichts.”

¹⁶ See part three and my analysis of the second Titus Lecture.

¹⁷ Sloterdijk, *Leben*, p. 299.

¹⁸ Sloterdijk, *Leben*, p. 301: “Die Menschheit der zwei Geschwindigkeiten”.

guise. Yet I propose that after stripping, redress must follow. This paves the way for examining how the Bible was used to redress, address, give shape, and guide and instruct the believer. Mastery of the Bible is thus an additional aspect that I seek to highlight with the acrobat as the analytical lay figure.

1.2 BIBLE READERS IN CONTEXT

Halle Pietism may be characterized as a devotional theology in a Lutheran context. The movement draws on various and often surprising sources, and that fact challenges any attempt at rock-solid definitions. Ernst Bartz has rightly called attention to this with the following statement from 1934.

Francke nimmt vielmehr aus allen christlichen Systemen Ideen und Gedanken auf, sofern er sie zur Bereicherung seiner eigentümlichen religiösen Haltung verwenden kann (Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, p. 28).

Francke borrows ideas from all sorts of Christian theology and tradition, not unsystematically, but by blending the imported goods into his own devotional theological project. The key to doing this is the Bible, or rather the Bible is the primary standard by which all other sources and traditions can be measured.¹⁹ To give an example: When Francke in 1687 engaged the debate on Quietism and made two of Molinos' texts accessible to a broader public by translating them from Italian into Latin, he did so with a reference to 1 Thess 5:21: "but test everything; hold fast to what is good".²⁰ He was not willing to declare Molinos a heretic without reading his texts with the Bible as the standard and measurement.²¹ At the same time, the Good Book was of use as a smokescreen for engaging with disputed texts. As a Lutheran Pietist, a minister and a professor of philology (1692) and theology (1698), Francke was a scripture virtuoso. This competence made him

¹⁹ See also part three, chapter 5.

²⁰ Francke defended Molinos in his *Lebenslauf* (1694). Consider the following statement ending with the Bible reference: "Dabey ich aber nicht leugne, daß mir allezeit sehr mißfallen, daß viele so blind über diesen Autorem hergefallen, und ihn verdammet, darinnen sie ihn nicht verstanden, ja nicht einmahl gelesen, und ihm daher opinionones beygemessen, die dem Autori wol lebenslang nicht in den Sinn kommen, ja daß ich auch im Gegentheile wol gesaget, daß viel nützlich und zur Erbauung höchst vorträgliches in dem buche enthalten, welches ich in Ewigkeit nicht verwerffen oder verdammen könnte. Denn man ja die warheit allezeit lieben sol, sie finde sich bey einem freunde oder Feinde; ja man soll alles prüfen, und das beste behalten 1. Thess: V." Matthias, *Lebensläufe*, p. 20.

²¹ For more on Francke and Arnold and the Quietism debate in Germany see Jacques Le Brun, 'Echos en pays germanique de la querelle du pur amour' in *JQP*, p. 78. Marti, Hanspeter, "Seelenfrieden der Stillen im Lande. Quietistische Mystik und radikaler Pietismus das Beispiel Gottfried Arnolds" in *JQP* p. 95. See also Bruun, Mejrup, Nørgaard, *Pietismus Handbuch* (forthcoming).

capable of using and evaluating inputs from various theological and devotional sources, as well as making difficult endeavours look perfectly easy. Nevertheless his Bible virtuosity is embedded in tradition, and I shall highlight three ways in which a Lutheran context is relevant. The first pertains to the evocation of Luther as an authority; the second to Luther's Bible translation and the third to the context of reading Paul after Luther.

How to read the Bible

The most read and widely disseminated of Francke's texts was a small treatise written in 1694, "Einfältiger Unterricht".²² It was later revived as the preface to the inexpensive Bible printed and published at the Bible Institute on the orphanage grounds. The treatise gives seven edifying pieces of advice to the reader on how to read Scripture. The recommendations are neatly placed in sub clauses to the main clause: 'If one wishes to be edified by Bible reading, *then* ...' The sentences that follow are written in the third person, but at times the person and number change. For instance, the shift into first person in the third precept: "So gieb mir nun deinen Heiligen Geist"; or the shift into the second person in the fifth: "so gehe hin, da du stille seyest, und das Bild tief ins Hertze fassese". These shifts in person and number are part of the devotional and edifying design. I shall summarize the seven precepts and show how Luther is evoked as a devotional rather than doctrinal authority, and as sharing that authority with Bernard of Clairvaux.²³

First precept: One should not read the Bible under a false pretext. Scribes and Pharisees were also Bible readers but not in an edifying way. It is a false pretext to read the Bible as "Zeit=Vertreib" or "als ein blosses äußerliches Werck"; or believing that one is doing God a favour.

Second precept: Bible reading requires a 'simple heart', an unfeigned desire to be taught by the holy spirit.

Third precept: Prayer is the first precondition for Bible reading, and it involves words and heart. 'Pray to God that he will give you the holy spirit, so your eyes can be opened; and pray that the holy words will give and augment faith.'

²² *Einfältiger Unterricht, wie man die H.Schrift zu seiner wahren Erbauung lesen solle, Für diejenigen welche begierig sind, ihr gantzes Christenthum auff das theure Wort Gottes zu gründen*, KTFS:2 (2013), pp. 1–6.

²³ It was not uncommon that Bernard was evoked as an authority in the devotional theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Udo Sträter uses the term "augustinisch-bernhardinischer Mystik" to describe Bernard's impact on German Lutheran meditative praxis. *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts*. 1995. pp. 2, 29. See also Johannes Wallmann, "Bernhard von Clairvaux und der deutschen Pietismus", 2010, p. 97.

Fourth precept: Bible reading should be accompanied by petitions and sighs, thanks and praise. Francke recommends reading one verse from the Bible, e.g. Gen 1:1, and rendering it into praise of God's works: "O du ewiger GOtt, ich dancke dir, daß du mich durch dein Wort lehrest, woher Himmel und Erden ihren Ursprung haben". The idea is to pause at each verse and treasure its fruitful content. Francke alludes to a saying by Luther, that 'a berry falls off its stalk when it is flicked'.

Fifth precept: Prayer must be followed by meditation ("muß die Betrachtung die Hand bieten"). Francke evokes Luther's words: "Das Evangelium ist so klar, daß nicht viel Auslegens bedarff, sondern es will nur wohl betrachtet, angesehen und tieff zu Herzen genommen seyn". The reader is also advised 'to go and be quiet and let the images take form deep in your heart' ("gehe hin, da du stille seyest, und das Bilde dir tief ins Hertze fassest"). Prayer and meditation must constantly 'offer each other the hand'. If it is difficult to advance in prayer, one must try meditation, or the other way around. Francke quotes the words of Bernard of Clairvaux:

Kein Mensch, spricht Bernhardus, koemt plötzlich oben an. Durch auffsteigen, und nicht durch fliegen, erreicht man die oberste Sprossen an der Leiter. Darumb lasset uns hinauf steigen, als wie mit zweyen Füßen, nemlich durch die Betrachtung, und durch das Gebet (*Einfältiger Unterricht*).

Sixth precept: Bible reading must be initiated with prayer and ended with the words, 'Let everything I have read be written in my heart with your finger and locked up so that Satan cannot come and take it away.'

Seventh precept: The devotional Bible reader will experience tribulation; God will not spare him from "Creutz und Leiden und allerley Anfechtung", but this is a pledge of his love. A true godly erudite is formed by prayer, meditation and tribulation: ("Das Gebet, die Betrachtung, und die Anfechtung sind die drey Stück, welche einen rechten Gottes gelehrten Mann machen."). Additionally the reader is advised to imagine a confrontation with his preceptor: 'As soon as you experience adversity, imagine that the preceptor is there and wants to examine you in what you have read in the scriptures.' This advice reflects the local context of the Halle reform project. Finally Francke advises the devotional reader to collect and keep a supply of good scripture words 'so you do not fall short.'

This treatise on edifying Bible reading is one example of how different sources and theological traditions are brought together. Francke refers to Luther – directly and indirectly²⁴ – and to Bernard of Clairvaux. He focuses on Bible reading as a combination of reading, prayer, meditation and contrition; a praxis full of monastic aspirations supported by the combined ref-

²⁴ The order prayer, meditation and tribulation follows the Lutheran triad: oratio, meditatio, tentatio, which Francke mentions with a clearer reference to Luther in his 'Studentenspiegel': *Timotheus*, pp. 46–47.

erence to Luther and Bernard in the fifth precept. It also includes local elements such as the evoked (Halle) preceptor (“so denke, daß der Praeceptor da sey”) in the seventh precept. This imagined preceptor follows immediately after the description of the godly erudite man, who engages in ‘oratio, meditatio, tentatio’²⁵ – almost appearing as a backup plan. That this treatise was reprinted as a preface to Bibles produced on the orphanage premises, furthermore, shows the local stamp of the reform project in Halle.

As for the Lutheran context of Francke’s use of Scripture, the treatise shows that Luther is evoked in a devotional rather than a doctrinal context. There is no mention of doctrines, but the idea of the Book of God as an instrument for meditative and devotional praxis is adopted. Moreover Luther is cited as an authority just like and together with Bernard of Clairvaux, which shows a moderate use of Luther as authority.

Biblical Observations

Udo Sträter has pointed out that Francke was part of a generation influenced by Luther but also striving to emancipate itself from him.²⁶ Francke not only breathed the atmosphere of Lutheranism, but his critical engagement with Luther’s Bible translation entailed ferocious debates, which questioned his loyalty to Luther and the Reformation. I am here alluding to the periodical *Observationes Biblicae*, which was issued in 1695, January–September, republished in 1702, and parts of it again in 1707.²⁷ The journal was intended as a vehicle for constructive criticism of Luther’s German Bible, but from the outset it descended into discordant disputes between Francke and his Orthodox adversaries.

The first issues of the *Observationes* followed a strict pattern, displaying a combined interest in philology and devotional praxis. First a scripture verse in Greek is printed, followed by Luther’s translation. Then the scripture verse is commented (“Anmerkung”), and recapitulated in a teaching (“Lehren”). Each observation is rounded off with a prayer (“Gebeth”).²⁸ In the later issues, the dispute as to Francke’s relationship to Luther takes up

²⁵ See the previous note.

²⁶ Udo Sträter: “August Hermann Francke und Martin Luther”. In: *PuN* 34 (2008) p. 41: “Francke verkörpert eine Generation, die nicht allein aus ihrer eigenen Perspektive Luther liest, sondern die zugleich – auf seinen Schultern stehend – sich von ihm emanzipiert”.

²⁷ Erhard Peschke, *Schriften zur Biblischen Hermeneutik I*, preface: pp. 362–363 and critical edition: pp. 364–640.

²⁸ Francke’s philological and biblical observations were later handed over to the students of the Collegium Orientale and their work on a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible. Otto Podcizek, “Die Arbeit am Alten Testament in Halle zur Zeit des Pietismus. Das Collegium Orientale theologicum A. H. Franckes”, p. 1062.

all the space and the biblical observations are suspended. In a famous passage in a later issue, Francke explains what he sees as a decisive difference between his present time and Luther's, namely the state of the arts of philology and exegesis. He has access to improved and more advanced linguistic auxiliaries than Luther, and he is therefore capable of improving Bible translation with these new insights. He does ensure that his corrections pertain to "paedagogica" and "Wissenschaft der Sprachen" and not 'faith' and divine doctrine.

In denen Dingen aber/ welche an sich selbst zum grunde der göttlichen Lehre/ und des daraus fliessenden Glaubens und Lebens nicht gehören/ als da ist die Wissenschaft der Sprachen und andere dergleichen Dinge/ so pädagogica genant werden/ möchten desto leichter einige Fehler in den Schrifften Lutheri ohne einigem Abgang seiner authorität erkant werden/ weil ein jeglicher so wol seine Unvollkommenheit wird bekennen müssen/ als auch daß das studium Philologicum absonderlich in diesem seculo viel herrlicher excoliret worden/ als vorhin jemahls möchte geschehen seyn (Peschke, *SBH I*, p. 478).

Francke is not questioning Luther's authority. He is seeking rather to prolong the Reformation and reassess it in schools and at universities:

[ich] wünschte von Herten gerne eine neue durchgängige und nachdrückliche Reformation/ beydes in Schulen und auch auff Universitäten/ die keines weges der Reformation Lutheri zuwider/ sondern vielmehr eine continuation der Reformation/ und der Zweck und Sinn Lutheri gantz und gar gemäß wäre/ daß nemlich Gottes Word das Hauptwerck würde/ und man dasselbe nicht mehr als ein blosses Neben-Werck tractierte (Peschke, *SBH I*, pp. 483–484).

If Luther had had access to the same "Hülffsmittel", his translation would have been better, Francke claims.²⁹ He does show veneration for Luther's Bible translation, but maintains that it is not immune to criticism. His attempt to improve it made him appear a better equipped Lutheran than Luther.

The *Observationes Biblicae* is a relevant source for discerning the context for Francke's use of the Bible. It shows critical engagement as well as the claim that the Pietist project was nothing other than a prolongation of the Reformation – particularly in schools and at universities. This point chimes in well with the notions of *cura pastoralis* and pastoral hodegetics, to which I shall return in later sections. The Lutheran atmosphere in which Halle Pietism developed was marked by different claims on Luther. To some he served as the unquestionable authority, to others he served as de-

²⁹ Peschke, *SBH I*, p. 597. See also Ulrich Barth: "Luther und Francke. Einige Aspekte des Verhältnisses ihrer beider hermeneutischen Konzeptionen", in *HF* 32, pp. 47–48.

votional inspiration; some even rebutted his authority.³⁰ I shall refrain from going further into the discussion of Pietism and Luther(anism).³¹ Instead, I shall turn to my third point concerning the Lutheran context of Francke's use of the Bible.

Reading Paul after Luther

It is no surprise that both Luther and Francke were inveterate readers of Paul. More surprising is the context in which this was brought up and treated by the Swiss Catholic theologian, Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905-1988). It is in no way central to his work on theological aesthetics, but he does mention it in passing.³² He gives no comment on Pietism, nor does he mention Spener, Francke, Halle or Christian Friedrich Richter (1676–1711), the hymn writer, doctor and superintendent of the orphanage apothecary. The only thing he does is to quote a famous verse from one of Richter's hymns: "es glänzet der christen inwendiges leben". The allusion to Richter makes a reference to a Halle Pietist context quite clear, but Balthasar does not explain any of this. He does however place the verse from Richter's hymn in a context, whereby the Pauline letter corpus is divided between Luther and a Lutheran parish. Luther gets his share: Paul's letters to the Romans and Galatians; the Lutheran parish, which is described as singing Richter's psalm – gets for its share the 'Prison Letters' (Ephesians, Colossians, Philémon), which in Balthasar's view are more contemplative than Romans and Galatians.

Before looking at the relevant text passage, I shall make a short introductory remark. Balthasar supposes that Luther's interpretation of Scripture was influenced by his polemics with the Catholic church. His strong focus on justification leads to a disparagement of aesthetics. Luther was preoccupied with the Bible's "blitzenden Schärfe", and this explains why his theology was developed in his commentaries to *Romans* and *Galatians*. Before man can encounter God, he is put through a dialectical "Widerspiel", a sit-

³⁰ To Christian Hoberg (1607–1675) Luther was not an authority immune to criticism. In a letter to Friedrich Breckling (1629–1711), he made this point very clear: "Ach, mein Freund! Ich habe Lutherum eher gefasset ehe ihr habt lesen können. Ich hab mit Lutheri Person nichts zuthun; Aber seine Lehre ist ein ungesunde Lehre, seine Bibel ist grund-falsch an vielen Orten; seine Lehre ist widerwärtig, gehet aufs Fleisch; Und ist unmöglich bey solcher seiner Lehre zum Erkänntnis Christi zukommen". Peter C. Erb, "Christian Homburg und schwenckfeld. Wurzeln des Pietismus: Einige bisher unveröffentlichte Briefe", 1977, p. 105.

³¹ For a recent account of the discussion, see *Reformation and Generalreformation – Luther und der Pietismus*, in *HF* 32 (2012). Sträter: *Francke-Luther*, pp. 20–41. Friedrich de Boor, "A. H. Franckes Beitrag zu einer umfassenden Interpretation der Römerbriefvorrede Luthers" (1982), pp. 573–586.

³² Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Herrlichkeit I: Schau der Gestalt*, 1988, pp. 42–54.

uation full of paradoxes, which either leads to an “Ent-ästhetisierung” or “paradoxe Ästhetisierung” of theology.³³ Luther chose the latter. He understood Christ’s redemption as an event (“Erlösungsereigniss”), which can only be explained in paradoxes: so claims Balthasar. In the following quotation, he states that Luther’s scriptural theology is marked by too sharp a distinction between the suddenness of the “Ereignis-Blitz” and ‘contemplation’. At the end of the passage, the reference to Richter’s psalm occurs.

So bleibt nur das lutherische “exaiphnês” [ἐξαίφνης, ‘suddenly’] der Ereignis-Blitz, der jede kontemplierende Anschauung ausschliesst. So war es folgerichtig, wenn der Protestantismus die eigentlich kontemplativen und ästhetischen Bücher der Schrift (wenn auch nicht radikal genug) aus dem Kanon ausschloss, und sich unter den übrigen die besonders aktualistischen (wie Galater und Römer) zur Mitte aussuchte, während die paulinische Kontemplation der Gefängnisbriefe immer irgendwie im Verdacht der Unechtheit stand. Theologia crucis, Theologie der Barmherzigkeit Gottes unter der “fremden Gestalt” des unbarmherzigsten Gerichtes musste als die für diesen Äon einzig zulässige erscheinen, während theologia gloriae vorschnell mit Theologie des künftigen Äons und seiner Schau gleichgesetzt wurde: als ob nicht der Begriff der doxa (kaböd, gloria) ein Hauptbegriff der alt- und neutestamentlichen Ökonomie schon in diesem Äon wäre. “Es glänzet der Christen inwendiges Leben” singt aber auch die lutherische Gemeinde, und die verbannte Doxa bricht sich im Pietismus und Idealismus (man denke an den späten Fichte) gewaltsam Bahn (Balthasar, *Herrlichkeit I* pp 53–54).

It is not for me to say whether this reading does Luther justice or not. To me it is the image of Luther and the Lutheran parish singing Richter’s psalm that is of interest. According to Balthasar, the ruling out of the ‘contemplative Prison Letters’ (Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon) is a consequence of Luther’s theology, rounded off by Paul’s letters to the Romans and Galatians. Unassuming or excluded elements, such as the Prison Letters, glory and contemplation, however, recur in Pietism and Idealism. Balthasar’s underlying conjecture is that different situations and times are marked by different biblical preferences. One could say that some reformations require and draw on Romans and Galatians, while others draw on a different selection of the Pauline letter corpus, e.g. the contemplative Prison Letters – or the Pastoral Letters. I find this idea invigorating when addressing the Lutheran context for Francke as a Bible user: he is reading Paul after Luther. Both of them engage with Paul, but with different interests and projects in mind and with emphasis on different selections of texts. After Luther’s Reformation, a reassessment of the situation was needed; as we saw outlined in Francke’s *Observationes Biblicae*. Francke wrote no commentary on Romans or Galatians like Luther, but he did write short commentaries on Ephesians and Colossians³⁴ – and many of his paraeneti-

³³ Balthasar, *Herrlichkeit I*, p. 45

³⁴ Peschke, *SBH I*, pp. 99–111; 191–207.

cal lectures were engaged with the Pastoral Letters.³⁵ The Pauline preference went in this direction, and this is an important context for Francke's use of the Bible. He read it after the import of Romans and Galatians had been contemporized, and now a different selection was required to reassess the Reformation.³⁶

This sort of Bible preference is clearly not exclusive, in the sense that it makes other texts less relevant or important. It is rather a specialized preference: the entire Bible is of course revealed truth, especially the New Testament, especially the Epistles, especially those of Paul, especially a certain section of them.

I shall end this glance at the theological and biblical context of Francke's use of the Bible, and turn to his sermons. This will allow me to show Francke as a Bible reader in action. First, however, a remark about the scholarly work done on the sermons.

Peschke

The German church historian Erhard Peschke (1907–1996) has published extensively on Francke's theology.³⁷ On his initiative a number of Francke's texts have been edited and made accessible to a broader readership.³⁸ His work as a theologian and as a text editor has had a huge influence on subsequent scholarship.³⁹ His efforts are not immune to criticism⁴⁰ but they should neither be deprived their due appreciation. This said, it is important to distinguish between Peschke's editorial and interpretative work. As an editor, Peschke has supplied the well assorted text collections with valuable introductions, and thus made Francke's texts comprehensible

³⁵ See part three.

³⁶ In a sermon to which I shall return, this is expressed in the following sentence, where Francke calls Luther a follower of Paul and adds a number of references to the Pastoral Letters, which support the exposition to be found in Francke's sermons. Consider this statement: "Viel anders hat uns Paulus gelehret, dessen Fußstapfen Lutherus gefolget, er will daß Titus und Timotheus, die Glaubigen solten ermahnen, *daß sie fleißig und eifrig seyn zu guten Wercken*. I Tim II. I. 8. IV. 7. 8. VI. 6.18. Tit. II. 14. III. 8." Peschke, *PI*, p. 210.

³⁷ *STF1*, 1963, *STF 2*, 1966. The third volume was published in *AGP 15*.

³⁸ *Auswahl*, 1969. Peschke also initiated the critical edition of Francke's texts in *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus* (TGP). It was intended to comprise ten volumes but so far, only five have been issued: TGP II.1: *Streitschriften*, 1981; TGP II.9: *Predigten 1*, 1987; TGP II.10: *Predigten 2*, 1989; TGP II.4: *Schriften zur Biblischen Hermeneutik 1*, 2003; TGP II.5 *Schriften zur Biblischen Hermeneutik 2*, 2016.

³⁹ A clear example of this influence is Martin Brecht's section on Francke's theology in *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, in *GdP 1*, 1993, pp. 440–473.

⁴⁰ E.g. Matthias, *Hermeneutik*, p. 189. Strom, *Conversion*, p. 302.

and easy to access, especially for readers uncomfortable with the old Gothic typeface. Peschke's interpretations are marked by his reconstruction of Francke's doctrinal theology. In the preface to the first volume of *Studien zur Theologie August Hermann Franckes* (1963), he announces that opinions on Francke's theology should be based on textual studies rather than personal idiosyncrasies.

Es fehlt nicht an eigenwilligen Urteilen über die Theologie August Hermann Franckes. Sie sind vorwiegend dogmatisch, konfessionell oder kirchenpolitisch bedingt. Seltener sind Quellenstudien. Die Folge ist ein recht unklares und in sich widerspruchsvolles Bild (Peschke, *STF 1*, preface).

All works are marked by some degree of "eigenwilligen Urteilen". In Peschke's case the prejudices are exhibited in "Quellenstudien". He has read through an enormous number of texts: collections of sermons, university- and admonitory lectures and edifying discourses – and systematically arranged the results in four main sections.⁴¹ In order to render account of how frequently a theological topic occurs, he supplies his reader with copious references, which add to the impression that a systematic coherence exists or is extractable from Francke's texts. Certainly coherency and main themes exist, but the way of argument, compiling references to various text sources, challenges the balance between "Quellenstudien" and "eigenwilligen Urteilen," with an inclination towards doctrinal patterns. The drawback to Peschke's way of extracting theology from sermons, is that what comes from the pulpit is confined to a thematic and doctrinal pattern. As a consequence, too little attention is assigned to the specificity of each sermon; both in regard to its liturgical and actual setting, and its rhetorical composition and recourse to the Bible. Indeed, reading sermons for their doctrinal content eventually runs the risk of producing – to quote Peschke: "ein recht unklares und in sich widerspruchsvolles Bild". Perhaps this judgement is not completely fair, but it raises relevant questions such as: how are sermons to be read? Is the message in Francke's sermons doctrinal or devotional? Does the argumentation progress in sequential steps or fluctuate?

I propose now to read two sermons while following a different strategy for reading them. I am more concerned with how Francke uses the Bible in sermons than with how they may or may not coincide with his doctrinal theology and the sources of inspiration behind it. I do not propose to read Francke out of context, but rather to take seriously the implications of 'af-

⁴¹ *STF 1* comprises parts 1 and 2: 'The Decree of God' and 'Children of God and children of the world'; *SFT 2* parts 3 and 4: 'Holy Scripture' and 'The theological study'. The entire part 3 of *SFT2* on biblical hermeneutics is severely handled by Markus Matthias, *Hermeneutik*, p. 189 note 3.

fect-orientated Bible reading'.⁴² I shall return to the hermeneutical principles in the third part.

1.3 BIBLE READERS IN ACTION

Following, then, the advice of Peschke, that the sermons are a main source for Francke's theology, I shall now offer readings of two sermons. One is particularly relevant for the acrobatic believer, the other for devotional project-making.

1.4 SERMON ON REBIRTH

In 1697 Francke delivered a sermon in his parish of Glaucha on the subject of rebirth.⁴³ In the exordium, he explains the liturgical context for rebirth, which he places in relation to the celebration of Pentecost (Heiligen Pfingst-Festes). Christmas is the celebration of the "Menschwerdung Jesu Christi"; the New Year is the celebration of the spiritual circumcision and the renewal of all things.⁴⁴ Easter is the celebration of Christ's resurrection, followed by the Octave of Easter ("Quasimodogeniti"), which introduces the idea that 'newborn infants' are 'given a new birth into a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead' (1 Pet 1:3).⁴⁵ The Octave of Easter is an important prelude to Pentecost and rebirth, which is thematically linked to the renewal of man and the idea comprised in 2 Pet 1:4 of becoming 'participants of the divine nature'.⁴⁶ The change of heart ("Veränderung des Hertzens") is the controlling idea, without which the effect of the liturgical year is poor. Francke supports his claim with reference to Psalms (Ps 51:10: "Create in me a clean heart, O God") and to Paul (2

⁴² The "affektorientierte Bibelauslegung" is designed to affect and eventually change the will of the believer. It is practised in various contexts and on texts imbued with different levels of technicality; from the hermeneutical writings, to the paraenetical lectures, to sermons and, as shown above, in a treatise on Bible reading and on Bible translation. Ulrich Barth, *Luther-Francke*, p. 43, mentions the increasing interest in naming the sources of inspiration for *affektorientierte Bibelauslegung*. Thus between Francke's first work on scriptural hermeneutics (1693) to the later work (1717) the list of names has lengthened. Among the names are Martin Luther, Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), Johann Konrad Dannhauer (1603-1666), Matthias Illyricus Flacius (1520-1575), Wolfgang Franz (1564-1628) and Sebastian Schmidt (1617-1697).

⁴³ "Die Lehre unsers HERRN JESU CHristi von der Wiedergeburt". Glaucha May 30, 1697, Peschke, *PI*, pp. 164–203.

⁴⁴ Eight New Testament references are mentioned in support of this New Year theme: Rom 2:29; Phil 3:3; Col 2:11; Rev 2:27; 3:12; 14:1; 22:4; 2 Cor 5:17.

⁴⁵ Francke ties two scripture verses together. The "Quasimodogenitii" – *Quasi modo geniti infantes* – alludes to 1 Pet 2:2, which he renders "ietzt geborne Kindlein" and merges with 1 Pet 1:3.

⁴⁶ Peschke, *PI*, pp. 164–165.

Cor 5:17: “So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new!”). Francke particularly emphasizes Paul’s words.⁴⁷

The sermon’s scriptural *point de repère* is a passage from the Gospel of John 3:1–16. This recounts Nicodemus’ nightly conversation with Jesus. Nicodemus asks how he should understand rebirth, and whether it implies re-entering the mother’s womb (Jn 3:4). Jesus denies this with a puzzling answer. Francke enters the conversation with a hypothetical example. A couple of unborn twins abide in the womb. One of them then leaves the womb and experiences the world, the sun, the moon, stars, hills, valleys, the ocean. Thereupon he returns to the womb and tries to explain to his twin what he has seen. The twin does not understand any of it, since he lacks the concepts and experience.⁴⁸ With this example, Francke distinguishes the reborn from the un-reborn believer and informs us – in the subjunctive mode – how rebirth is granted by God and accessible to man.

Wenn aber derselbe GOtt dem HErrn die Ehre gäbe, diejenigen Mittel, die GOtt geordnet, gebrauchete, das Wort GOttes sich liesse zu Hertzen gehen, so wiederführe ihm eben dieselbe Gnade, daß er von GOtt durch den Heiligen Geist wiedergeboren würde zu einem neuen Menschen, und alsdenn würde er eben dasselbe erkennen, und ihm alles klar und deutlich seyn (Peschke, *PI*, pp. 170–171).

By rendering honour to God, letting oneself be moved by God’s word and drawing benefit from the ordained means, man is reborn and renewed. The quotation is rich in subjunctives, but the message can be subsumed: human malleability and devotional effort generates renewal and makes clear (“klar und deutlich”) a concealed truth (“dunkel und schwer”).⁴⁹

After the exordium and the textual reading, Francke outlines five points by which he expounds the meaning of Jn 3:1–16 and the theme of rebirth.⁵⁰ I shall not summarize all points, but focus on the way Francke combines rebirth with social responsibility and thus straddles theological doctrine and ethics. The Greek term ἄνωθεν applied in Jn 3:1–16, has two meanings, ‘above’ and ‘again’. Francke elaborates on rebirth as ‘birth from *above*’ and refers to other New Testament passages, where ἄνωθεν is translated ‘above’ (“von oben”). For instance: “Every generous act of giving, with

⁴⁷ Peschke, *PI*, p. 168: “Und aus diesen angezogenen Worten Pauli lernen wir nun klärlich, daß wol keine Lehre in der Christenheit nothwendiger sey, als die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt: dann diese ist eben der Grund, worauf das gantze Christenthum bestehet.”

⁴⁸ Peschke, *PI*, p. 170

⁴⁹ Peschke, *PI*, p. 171. Francke’s hypothetical example of the twins with different experiences of the world chimes in with Sloterdijk’s distinction of ‘mankind at two speeds’.

⁵⁰ Peschke, *PI*, p. 172–203

every perfect gift, is *from above*” (Jas 1:17) and in the saying of John the Baptist: “The one who comes from above is above all” (Jn 3:31). Having established these associations to altitude, Francke compares rebirth to being high-born. Noble rank is honourable, but even better is it to be born of God. Believers who are sons and daughters of God are *above* noble rank, yet the very highest is the very lowest, and God’s children must show themselves responsible for the poor and the needy.⁵¹

To be a reborn believer in the world is full of social and ethical implications, which alter the worldly meaning of high-born. It also implies that the determiner ‘true’ is added to the believer. Francke makes this point clear by using the expression ‘a change of heart’ as interchangeable with rebirth.

Und gewiß, wo eine solche Veränderung des Hertzens erst selbst bey dem Menschen vorgehet, da kan der Mensch dieser Lehre von der Wiedergeburt einen auf die lebendige Erfahrung gegründeten hertzlichen Beyfall geben. Sonst lernet er nur die Worte nachsprechen und beschreiben, was es sey, von GOtt geboren seyn, und daß man dadurch GOtt zum Vater, Christum zum Bruder, und den Heiligen Geist zum Troster habe: indessen aber bleibt doch das Hertz an der Welt hangen, und siehet mehr an die weltliche Ehre, Reichthum und Herrlichkeit, als das, was gottlich und himmlisch ist. Wer aber selbst erst recht in seinem Herten erfahret, was es sey, von GOtt oder von oben herab geboren seyn, der wird diesen hohen Adel nicht um aller Welt Gut und Herrlichkeit entbehren (Peschke, *PI*, p. 176).

The passage resembles the construction of the *vie arrièrè* in Francke’s *Lebenslauf*.⁵² If the believer has not experienced the ‘change of heart’, he may be capable of repeating weighty words, but not of understanding them, let alone being seized by them. Or, as in the present case, he will not be able to take part in the divine household and have God as a father, Christ as a brother and the Holy Spirit as a comforter. Praxis prevails over doctrine, but without eradicating it.⁵³ With a change of heart praxis and doctrine work together.

Social responsibility and disdain for things worldly are implicit in the life of the true believer. Francke visualizes this with a reference to the parable of Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31). The rich man is the identification point of worldly extravagance, Lazarus for the high-born believer, higher in rank than the worldly authorities of all times.

Wenn man solte einen armen Lazarum finden, der vor des reichen Mannes Thür läge voller Schwären, und sich nicht sättigen kante von den Brosamen, die von ienes Tische vielen, hatte aber diesen Schatz in seinem Herten, der würde sich in seiner Armuth für seliger und herrlicher schätzen, als iener, der mit Purpur und

⁵¹ Peschke, *PI*, p. 175

⁵² See above.

⁵³ Later in the sermon, Francke reintroduces the trinitarian pattern, God as father, Christ as brother, the Holy Spirit as comforter. Peschke, *PI*, p. 192.

kostlichem Leinwand bekleidet ist: er würde alle Ehre und Pracht, so jener vor der Welt hat, für nichts achten gegen seinen Adel, daß er aus GOtt geboren ist: ja wenn gleich Herodes und Pontius Pilatus, wenn gleich Kayser Augustus, und alle mit einander, die in der Welt herrlich und groß geachtet gewesen sind, ihre Herrlichkeit wollen zusammen auf einen Haufen bringen; so würde doch ein solcher armer vor der Welt verachteter und in allem Elend steckender Mensch, das, so er empfunden hat in seinem Hertzen, daß er sich nemlich aus GOtt geboren zu seyn erkennt, für eine grossere Gabe, Ehre, Reichthum und Herrlichkeit achten, als alles, was ihm die Welt zu geben hatte (Peschke, *PI*, p. 176).

The change of heart and the renewal of man is not an act which happens at once, but a process. Francke compares the believer to an acre of ground which must be re-ploughed if it is to prosper.⁵⁴ The cultivation of true faith is an acrobatic endeavour, which must be displayed in a disdainful attitude to worldly vanity and splendour. If this one or that used to be inclined to luxury, then renunciation and contempt will prove his reborn status.

Soll nun auch solches keine Einbildung seyn, so muß es von dem Menschen erkant werden, daß eine solche Veränderung in ihm vorgegangen sey. Zum Exempel: Es hatte ein Mensch seine Lust und Wohlgefallen gehabt an lustiger Gesellschaft, an stoltzen Kleidern, an Pracht, Reichthum und Ehre dieser Welt, daß die Leute viel von ihm gehalten und er allenthalben gerne oben an gegangen wäre u.s.f. Wenn ein solcher aus GOtt geboren wird, so krieget er gar ein ander Hertz, daß er nach den irdischen und vergänglichen Dingen, die unter der Sonnen sind, nicht das geringste mehr fraget, noch hoch davon halt: hingegen aber hat er viel mehr einen Abscheu an alle demselben, dazu er vorher Lust gehabt, und zeigt sichs also, daß sein Hertz wahrhaftig geändert ist (Peschke, *PI*, p. 192).

Renouncing the world must be followed by an inner devotional competence. The true believer must act on the encouragement to scrutinize and humiliate himself. He must be willing to be transformed. Francke brings out this point in the part of his sermon devoted to application. He admonishes his parishioners to go home, fall down on their knees and pray to God that he may turn them into a new creation, a devotional being.

Ach lieber Mensch, wenn du es wütest, was GOtt der HErr für ein gnädiges Gefallen haben würde, wenn du dieses Wort der Wahrheit annähmest, und giengest nach Hause, würfftest dich auf deine Knie, und rufftest ihn darüber demüthig an, daß er dich wiedergebore, einen ändern Menschen aus dir mache;

⁵⁴ Peschke, *PI*, p. 181: "Gleichwie aber der Saame, aufs blosse Erdreich obenhin gestreuet, keine Frucht bringen kan, sondern der Acker muß zuvor wohl umgepflüget und gedünget werden, alsdenn wird der Saame hineingestreuet, und die Erde darüber gethan, damit er darunter recht wurtzele; und denn *bringet er hervor erstlich das Gras, hernach den Halm*, und endlich die *Frucht in den Aehren*: also muß das menschliche böse Hertz durch den Pflug des Gesetzes wohl durchgepflüget werden, daß der Mensch seine alte Sünden, böse Gewohnheiten und vorgefaßte Meynungen, darinnen er stehet, lerne erkennen, dafür erschrecken, darüber im Hertzen zerschlagen und zerknirschet werden, und vor GOtt dem HErrn rechte Reu und Leid darüber tragen."

wenn du wütest, wie alsdenn GOtt ins verborgene hinein sehen, und seine Gnaden Strome über dich ausgiessen würde: du würdest gewißlich die Zeit nicht versäumen, sondern die Mittel gebrauchen, die GOtt darzu gegeben hat (Peschke, *PI*, p. 203).

Part of man's new design is that he does not waste any time. This is a topos of which we shall see more examples in *Grosse Aufsatz*.

To sum up: in this sermon on rebirth, we have seen that interchangeable terms are deployed to describe the concept. Such notions as 'change of heart,' 'renewal' and 're-ploughing' are examples. The transition from head to heart is, no matter what it is called, at once a prerequisite and the objective for devotional life. The transition is comparable to a hermeneutical progression from doctrines or Bible reading to experience. Experience is the more important, and once it is established and in practice, a reassessment of the doctrinal, biblical, edifying, paraenetical message takes place. Once the true believer has proven a true change of heart, he participates in the divine household, while in the world he has the same high-born rank as poor Lazarus.

1.5 SERMON ON DUTY TOWARDS THE POOR

The sermon "Pflicht gegen den Armen" has a legendary status, and it is frequently mentioned in the scholarly literature as a relevant source for understanding the close ties between Francke's theology and reform organization.⁵⁵ The sermon straddles different notions of work and their biblical context. Work is both a disciplinary means against idleness, a charitable duty towards one's neighbour and, ambiguously, a way of accumulating capital. The saying goes that the sermon inspired Francke's colleague, Heinrich Julius Elers (1663-1729), to devote his life to helping the poor and to go into the book trade. After having heard the sermon, Elers allegedly decided to get it published and on sale.⁵⁶ Whether this is true or not,⁵⁷ the

⁵⁵ Peschke's preface to the sermon, *PI*, p. 205.

⁵⁶ Peschke, *PI*, p. 205. The "überlieferter Mitteilung" begins in Francke's *Fußstapfen*, Michael Welte (ed), 1994, p. 162, and continues in Gustav Kramer's biography: *Ein Lebensbild I*, 1880, pp. 161ff. and Peschke.

⁵⁷ Brigitte Klosterberg and Anke Mies have rectified the account: the first sermon printed in the *Waisenhaus Verlag* was "Die Lehre von dem Ärgernis". See "Einführung" in *Der Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses zu Halle, Bibliographie der Drucke 1698-1728*, 2009, XV.

sermon was assuredly ascribed a legendary status, and Elers was said to embody the ideal of pietistic “Arbeitsethos”.⁵⁸

Francke delivered the sermon in 1697 in his parish at Glaucha, and dedicated it to the local authorities: the chancellor, vice-chancellor, advisors and benefactors in the government and consistory of Magdeburg.⁵⁹ In the opening part he complains about man’s selfishness, self-interest and desire for luxury and treasure. He reminds the Christian authorities of their responsibility to be ‘true fathers for their motherland’ and good examples for others to follow.⁶⁰

The sermon’s scriptural *point de repère* is the Gospel of Luke 16:19-31 and the parable of Lazarus, which Francke treats in four parts.⁶¹ Before engaging the biblical account, he presents the theme of doing good deeds in an exordium (“Anspruch”), in which he draws attention to Cornelius, who in the Bible is described as a devout, god-fearing man and a generous giver of alms (Acts 10:1-4). Cornelius is a true model for Christians.⁶² Francke explains that it is a common misunderstanding among Lutherans to believe that their religion, unlike the Roman, is exempt from the need for good deeds. What, he asks, is a good religion, if one cannot live a godly life and do good deeds?

So weit ists mit uns kommen, die wir uns Lutheraner nennen, weil wir so oft gehöret haben, daß die Catholischen wollen durch die guten Wercke selig werden, solches aber in der Lutherischen Lehre verneinet wird, so dencken da die allermeisten: es sey nicht einmal ihre Pflicht, Gutes zu thun; wenn man so emsig beten, so fleißig Almosen geben würde, so dürfte man leicht ein Verdienst daraus machen, und das Verdienst Christi schmählern. Aber wenn dieses die Lutherische Lehre mit sich brachte, daß wir keine gute Wercke thun solten, so mochten wir wohl dieselbe verschweren ewiglich. Denn es wäre ja eine ärgere Religion, als der Heyden, Juden und Türcken selbst. Was konte greulicher seyn, als eine Religion haben, dabey man nicht gottselig leben und gute Wercke thun solte? Viel anders hat uns Paulus gelehret, dessen Fußstapfen Lutherus gefolget: er will, daß Titus und Timotheus, die Glaubigen solten ermahnen, *daß sie fleißig und eifrig seyn zu*

⁵⁸ Brigitte Klosterberg: “Kommerz und Frömmigkeit”. In *KFS8* (2001), p. 157. See also Gotthilf August Francke’s composition of Elers’ Lebenslauf: “Kurtzer Lebenslauf des seligen Herr Heinrich Julius Elers, entworfen von Gotthilf August Francke”, p. 31: “Und gewiss, es war ihm darin eine gar besondere und seltene Gabe verliehen, dass er bey der größten distraction in äusserlichen Geschäften, immerdar in der Gegenwart GOTTES blieb, und sein Hertz mit dem Evangelio Christi stets gefasst halten konnte (...) Sein Buchladen hier und an andern Orten, ist Zeuge davon, was er in diesem Stück gethan, und wie er am Werck GOTTES gearbeitet hat.”

⁵⁹ “Pflicht gegen den Armen”, June 6, 1697 Glaucha. Peschke, *PI*, pp. 205–239. The sermon was first printed in the SFA sermon collection of 1704.

⁶⁰ Peschke, *PI*, p. 207

⁶¹ Peschke, *PI*, pp. 212–238

⁶² Peschke, *PI*, pp. 208–210

guten Wercken. I Tim II. I. 8. IV. 7. 8. VI. 6.18. Tit. II. 14. III. 8. (Peschke, *PI*, p. 210).

Different interpretations of Luther are here juxtaposed: the wrong one shirking duties, and the ‘true’ one following Paul and the Pastoral Letters. The construction of true Pauline Lutheranism combined with references to the Pastoral Letters is a special cocktail in Halle Pietism.⁶³ We see it reflected in the transposition of biblical figures. Francke had first picked Cornelius as the ideal of devout generosity, but in the passage quoted, this role is transposed to the Pauline apprentices Titus and Timothy. They incorporate a similar ideal and admonish other believers “daß sie fleißig und eifrig seyn zu guten Wercken”. Why this transposition? It is probably to place the same religious and moral ideal in different characters and social settings: Cornelius is an affluent officer, unlike the young apprentice apostles. By bringing both figures in, Francke addresses the benefactor, to whom the sermon is dedicated, as well as the students and preceptors trained and training in the orphanage schools.⁶⁴ Although Cornelius has a limited role in the sermon, Francke promotes him as the positive opposite to the rich man in Luke’s account of Lazarus.⁶⁵

The textual reading of Luke 16:19-31 is arranged in four sections set out as a programmatic series of questions: who is obligated by duties, towards whom, in which way; and how are neglected obligations punished and fulfilment rewarded? First of all, Francke points out that everyone is obliged to help the poor – the rich as well as the poor. He comments on the paradoxical meaning of rich, since the rich in the world often consider themselves to be poor because of greed (“die Reichesten würden wol die Aermsten seyn wegen ihres unersättlichen Geitzes”).⁶⁶ In search of other definitions, Francke turns to the Bible. In the account of Luke, the rich man is represented as rich. We do not know of his social position, Francke informs us, but he infers that he is idle, a “Müßiggänger”.⁶⁷ Idleness is a much graver problem than wealth; and it must be countered by means of work. This is supported with reference to 2 Thess 3:10 (“Anyone unwilling

⁶³ See part three.

⁶⁴ The use of Timothy and Titus as theological role models is also evident in Francke’s *Timotheus*.

⁶⁵ Peschke, *PI*, p. 211: “Am heutigen Sonntage wird vom reichen Mann gehandelt. Der findet heutiges Tages mehr seines gleichen als Cornelius. In dem Regler-Stande, wenn man die Hofe durchgehet, ist der reiche Mann überall. In dem Lehr-Stand fehlet es gleichfals nicht daran, sondern manche ja die meisten hat der Geitz eben so wol, wo nicht ärger, als die in andern Ständen sind, besessen. In dem Hauß-Stand stehet es gleichfals so.”

⁶⁶ Peschke, *PI*, p. 213

⁶⁷ Peschke, *PI*, p. 215

to work should not eat”) which highlights the necessity of labour. Francke adds other scripture references to give nuance to the point.

Die heilige Schrift aber saget, daß die Arbeit nicht allein den Zweck haben müsse, daß man sich nothdürftiglich ernähre, sondern man soll auch arbeiten, damit man habe zu geben dem Dürftigen, Eph. IV. 28. 1 Thess. IV. 11. welches auch in das öffentliche Kirchen-Gebet hineingerückt ist (Peschke, *PI*, p. 214).

The purpose of work has social implications, and involves saving and sharing with the needy. The problem is not wealth, nor accumulation of finances, but how wealth is handled and the responsibility it brings. The rich and the affluent must acknowledge that their property belongs to God, who will hold them accountable for it. In fact, poor people are a way for God to test the rich, and discover if they have the right attitude.⁶⁸

In the quest for biblical definitions of ‘rich’ and ‘poor’, Francke notices that the Bible reverses the meaning of worldly things. This eventually leads to a detachment of fixed meaning, which is why the poor are not excused from social responsibility for others, although they are poor. In the account of the rich man and Lazarus, one of the reversals of meaning is that only the poor man is mentioned by name, the man of means is anonymous. This is different from our worldly customs, Francke observes: “In der Welt dencken die Reichen: sie gelten allein; iederman sehe auf sie; sie haben zwar auch einen grossen Namen in der Welt”.⁶⁹ He who is rich by worldly standards has no security for his wealth. Times of hardship can occur, and then he is impoverished.⁷⁰ The fluctuating definitions of rich and poor are followed by encouragement addressed to the Christian authorities to improve conditions for the poor. The duty towards the poor is not only a matter of donating funds, but a task which requires engagement. The poor are not only to be relieved from, but also taught how to overcome, poverty. Francke therefore addresses the authorities and reminds them of their responsibility to help the poor to help themselves. The following reminder is an interesting backdrop for the reform project, which was still, at the time of this sermon, in its initial phase.

Man sorget zwar, daß man der Armen möge los werden, aber nicht, wie die Armen ihres Elendes los und ihnen aus ihrer Armuth möge geholfen werden. Dahin solte aber Christl. Obrigkeit sehen, daß allen Armen möge so nachdrücklich gedienet werden, daß dieselben, die in einer Stadt sind, versorget, und auch die Gaben recht angewendet werden möchten; indem die, so arbeiten

⁶⁸ Peschke, *PI*, p. 215: “Reiche Leute müssen nicht dencken, als ob das Zeitliche ihr Eigenthum sey, sondern, daß es GOtt dem HErrn zugehore, und Rechenschaft fordern werde, wie sie damit umgegangen, desgleichen, daß sie GOtt durch die Armen auf die Probe stelle, ob sie auch diesen zum besten und zur Erquickung ihre Güter anwenden werden.”

⁶⁹ Peschke, *PI*, p. 215

⁷⁰ Peschke, *PI*, p. 215

können, zur Arbeit angehalten würden, die aber darzu unvermögend sind, der Gaben zu geniessen hätten, und zwar so viel, als ihnen möchte nöthig seyn. (Peschke, *PI*, p. 220)

Francke is keen to stress that charitable work implies a distribution of alms as well as supervision and control. It does not suffice to spread the seed: attention must be given to *how* and *where* it is sown.

Es wird zwar nicht geleugnet, dass eine Christliche Fürsichtigkeit wegen des schrecklichen Betrugs und Boßheit müsse gebraucht werden, dass man nicht allein ausstreue, sondern auch zusehe, wie man seinen Saamen ausstreue und anwende, damit nicht die Undanckbaren alles hinweg nehmen, da die Frommen es entrathen müssen (Peschke, *PI*, pp. 220–221).

The idea, here put forward in a sermon and clothed in cultivating metaphors, was a topos in Francke's project-making and was realized in the *Arbeitshaus*.⁷¹ It points to the professionalization of social care. Support is a means which must be administered.

Francke takes up another theme related to the biblical parable: the sartorial difference between the rich man and Lazarus: the first is well dressed, but Lazarus is naked. Francke seizes on this as an occasion to thunder against all forms of ostentation. It is commonly believed that one must dress according to rank, but where is this written in the Bible? Man's status is the curse of God pronounced in Gen 3:17 ("By the sweat of your face, you shall eat bread until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return").

Der Stand, das Amt ist von GOtt, darinnen man GOtt und dem Nächsten dienen soll, aber wo stehet das, daß du dich so oder so halten sollst nach deinem Stande? Staub und Aschen, ein elender Maden-Sack bist du, das ist dein Stand, darnach halte dich, und wisse, daß die Kleider uns zum Zeichen der Sünde gegeben sind, daß es der Diebsstrick ist, den wir an uns tragen, zum Zeichen, daß wir den Tod verdienet haben. Mercke es wohl, das ist unser Stand nach der Schrift 1 B. Mos. III, 19. darnach sollen wir uns halten (Peschke, *PI*, p. 222).

In this biblical light, all differences of status and vocation are flattened. There are no differences, the only thing that counts is sin, respect of God and social responsibility.

The neglect of obligations towards the poor is caused by the devilish state in man ("teuflische Staat"). It is reflected in his inclination to spend and consume; in student's behaviour and their waste of money on horse-

⁷¹ *Fußstapfen*, I: 54, p. 177, GA2, p. 146. See also Ernst Bartz: *Die Wirtschaftsethik A.H. Franckes*, 1934, pp. 56–57. Carl Hinrichs, *Preußentum und Pietismus: Der Pietismus in Brandenburg-Preußen als religiös-soziale Reformbewegung*, 1971, p. 306. Hinrichs argues that the razzia which Friedrich Wilhelm initiated in 1710, against petty criminals and prostitutes (60 women and 20 men) who were arrested and placed in an "Arbeitshaus" was a "verwirklichung der Spenerschen und Frandkeschen Ideen." *Preußentum*, p. 306, p. 334.

riding in the summer and sledging in the winter. Francke describes common delectations, which are caused by the devilish state in man.

Der [*teuflische Staat*] nimmt schon seinen Anfang in der Jugend; da fangens schon Studiosi an: (wenn es ja nicht schon in der Kindheit angefangen) da muß es in Silber, Gold, Siden und andere kostbare Dinge gekleidet seyn: es müßen so viel 100. Ja 1000 Thlr. verzehret werden. Da darf es nicht an Ergötzlichkeit fehlen. Des Winters fährt man mit grosser Verschwendung des Geldes auf den Schlitten, des Sommers fährt und reitet man spazieren, in Summa: das Geld muß verthan werden. Siehe! das achtet man für keine Sünde; niemand straft es, eben als wenn es das rechte Leben wäre. Das ist das Leben des reichen Mannes, darbey aber die Pflicht gegen die Armen gröblich versäümet wird (Peschke, *PI*, p. 224).

A life of luxury or needless spending is compared to the life of the rich man, who neglects his duties towards poor Lazarus. Money should be spent entirely on “was zur Nothdurft gehöret”.⁷² Supporting the poor involves generosity in deed and attitude. Instead of self-indulgence, we should spend our money on charity and “Give an ear to the poor, and return their greeting politely” and “Be a father to orphans, and be like a husband to their mother” (Sir 4:8; 10). Francke quotes the entire passage of the Book of Sirach 4:1–10, which advises a meek and mild attitude towards the poor.⁷³ This ‘motherly attitude’, “du solt *mütterlich* gegen den Armen seyn”, is according to Francke an attitude practised among the first Christians.⁷⁴ The obligation to the poor is thus both material, ethical and rooted in an ideal of the primitive church.

The last part of the sermon turns to the punishment of neglect and the reward for fulfilling our obligations. In the account of the rich man and Lazarus, a severe judgment is passed on the rich, who must endure the torments of hell. Francke reminds his listeners of the grave consequences of niggardliness, and how hell is a place with ‘no rest day or night’ (Rev 14:11).⁷⁵ He who thinks only of himself and ignores his neighbour, resembles a head of cattle⁷⁶, but he who fulfils his duty towards the poor, carries the image of God and can expect a “Gnaden-Belohnung”.⁷⁷

Francke adds a number of remarkable disclaimers to his summarizing remarks to his parishioners. He encourages them to pay attention to their duties and consider in what way they could be supportive. They should not, however, think that he, their minister, draws benefit by their fulfilment of obligations. He also explicitly states that he is not raising funds for ‘his

⁷² Peschke, *PI*, p. 224

⁷³ Peschke, *PI*, p. 225

⁷⁴ Peschke, *PI*, p. 228

⁷⁵ Peschke, *PI*, pp. 229–230

⁷⁶ Peschke, *PI*, p. 232

⁷⁷ Peschke, *PI*, p. 231

poor'. In the following passage, we see how he disrupts his own sermon with pre-emptive comments to his church parishioners.

Ihr wisset wohl, daß ich bey euch für meine Armen nichts gesucht habe, sondern ich habe alles im Glauben angefangen, und bis daher sind sie versorget, und fehlet ihnen an nichts. Wisset also, daß ich darauf nicht warte, daß ihr ihnen Gutes thun soll. Ich traue auf GOTT den Lebendigen, und ob ich der Armen noch 100. aufnehmen würde, so würde mich GOTT mit ihnen nicht eine Mahlzeit Mangel leiden lassen, es wird auch nicht an Brodt fehlen. Wisset, daß dieser Glaube in meinem Herten versiegelt ist, und darinnen wohl versiegelt bleiben wird. Und obgleich niemand unter euch die Hand mit anlegen wolte, so lieget mir doch das geringste nicht dran. Das sage ich bloß, um mich des Verdachts zu entschütten, als ob ich hiermit von euch etwas für meine Armen suchte. Aber daß ich selbst die Pflicht gegen die Armen meines theils nicht zu versäumen trachte, solches thue ich nicht allein um meinet, sondern auch um eurentwillen, daß ich mit Wahrheit sagen könne: *Seyd meine Nachfolger, gleichwie ich Christi*, 1 Cor XI. Ihr habt also nicht Ursach zu sagen: ja unser Pfarrer macht sich viel Mühe und Beschwerung, was hat ers nöthig? Warum lässet ers nicht bleiben? Denn daß manche unter euch so reden, das macht, daß sie Christum nicht kennen, und seinen Sinn noch nicht haben. Hättet ihr den Sinn Christi in euch, so würde es euch nicht anders gehen, als mir (Peschke, *PI*, pp. 232–233).

This self-protection, inflated with scriptural authority, against accusations is of some interest. It disrupts the sermon and the explanation of the biblical parable, and introduces a conflict between Francke and his Glaucha parish.⁷⁸ The digression challenges Francke's rhetorical ethos; why the need to state that he fulfils his obligations, and insinuate that the parishioners 'do not know Christ'? It is an audacious hint, which is even topped in the final claim: 'if you had had the mind of Christ, you would be like me'. What is implied in this statement? If we suppose that the parishioners had the mind of Christ and were like Francke, what were they more precisely to do?

The burden of his sermon, addressed to the local authorities and the parishioners, is that everyone is obligated towards the poor. The obligations involve work, charity, a meek attitude, but also a "Christliche Fürsichtigkeit" which ensures that the poor learn how to help themselves. This concern shows a rationalization of the way charitable work is done, and it is aptly reflected in the motto "Nicht allein ausstreue, sondern auch zusehe". The work in Halle combines charitable work with training, teaching, education, cultivation and supervision. If the parishioners in Glaucha had been willing to acknowledge this, they would have supported the reform movement instead of questioning their minister's "viel Mühe und Beschwerung". This is, at least, what is implied in Francke's charge, made

⁷⁸ Francke's struggle with the Glaucha parishioners and vice versa has been thoroughly studied by Veronika Albrecht-Birkner, *Francke in Glaucha, Kehrseiten eines Klischees (1692-1704)*. HF 15, 2004.

with prophetic authority: “Hättet ihr den Sinn Christi in euch, so würde es euch nicht anders gehen, als mir”. The statement is furthermore combined with an assertion which validates his project-making: “Wisset, daß dieser Glaube in meinem Hertzen versiegelt ist, und darinnen wohl versiegelt bleiben wird.”

In this sermon, then, we see Francke in the unaccustomed role of not being a fund-raiser. He explicitly states that he is not seeking support from his parishioners for his reform work. This is the exact opposite role of the *Grosse Aufsatz*, where he is keen to give his public a clear idea of the work and encourage them to take part in it. Francke does not care if his parishioners will help or not – but if they had the mind of Christ, the situation would be different. This is not only a testimony of the conflict between him and his parish, it also shows the formation of another and competing ecclesiastical space outside the church. The new ecclesiastical space represents another way, another place and another method for the true believer to fulfil his and her Christian obligation to the poor.

1.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The pliability and athletic competence of the acrobat makes him an emblematic figure for the theology and the reform movement in Halle. By focusing on training and performativity, we become aware of the ways in which the believer enacts and displays his faith.

I have also used the acrobat as a means to wrestle fixed concepts free of self-evident meanings. This act of stripping must however be followed up by redressing. The acrobatic believer must train himself devotionally while preparing to become a shepherd, one who guards and guides others. The prerequisite and the objective of devotional life are intertwined. The acrobat and the shepherd show different aspects of the same endeavour, namely to make feasible a transition from head to heart. The means and the standard for doing this was the Bible, and to master it required linguistic, exegetical and devotional training. Francke had such training, and was keen to convey it to others. The acrobatic pliability of Francke’s use of the Bible is in the way he blended ideas from all sorts of Christian theology with his own. It also shows up in the way he managed his Lutheran heritage. Both Luther and Francke were inveterate readers of Paul, but with different epistolary preferences. Francke’s attempt to sustain and revitalize the Lutheran Reformation and to contemporize Paul showed a clear preference for the Pastoral Letters.

PART II: THE PROJECT-MAKER

GROSSE AUFSATZ

2.1 TEXT EDITION

Grosse Aufsatz (GA) outlines the grand prospects of Halle Pietism. It stages Francke's reform as instigated and directed by divine providence. It furthermore gives the reader an idea of what the work does. Finally, it shows the collaboration between university and orphanage – comprising schools, charitable work, a manufacturing industry and business trading. All of this in three parts of uneven length and structure. The text was written in 1704, revised in 1709, 1711 and 1716 but it was never published during Francke's lifetime. It – or parts of it – did, however, circulate among a trusted circle of affluent and supportive readers. The title *Grosse Aufsatz* is a constructed abbreviation of the full title, which was used for the entire text as well as for the second part.

Offenhertzige und gründliche Nachricht von der inneren Beschaffenheit und Wichtigkeit des Wercks des HErn zu Halle im Hertzogthum Magdeburg, sowol wie es anitzo stehet, als was unter dem fernem Segen Gottes darvon zu hoffen.

In 1962 Otto Podczeck issued a scholarly edition of the text, based on the diverse copies of an original manuscript lost in 1719.¹ The critical apparatus makes it possible to compare the different copies of the manuscript and follow the development from 1704 until 1716. The revision of the text in 1711 allegedly prepared it for publication, but was never finished, although it was resumed in 1716: nor was the text ever published. The *Entstehungsgeschichte* of GA is complicated, particularly because the text was never fixed in a published form, but existed in drafts made over a lengthy period of time. The primary manuscripts in Podczeck's edition are the following.

- The A-version of 1704 of GA1–3.
- The B-version of 1709, 1711 and 1716 covering GA1–3 but not entirely.²
- The C-version of 1716 comprising GA2 chapters 1–3.
- The D-version of 1716 comprising parts of GA2 chapter 3.

¹ Otto Podczeck: *Schrift über eine Reform des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens als Ausgangspunkt einer geistlichen und sozialen Neuordnung der Evangelischen Kirchen des 18. Jahrhundert*, 1962, p. 11.

² The B-version of GA1 is dated 1711; the copy of GA2 chapters 1–3 is dated 1716; the copy of GA2 chapter five is dated 1709; and the incomplete copy of GA3 dated 1709. Podczeck, GA, pp. 16–17.

In the 19th century, GA was published by Wilhelm Fries, but his edition made things worse. Fries omitted GA1, excluded parts of GA2 and left out a portion of GA3.³ Podczeck's scholarly edition compensates for this. It certainly resets the coordinates for understanding and studying GA.⁴ His introduction and text commentaries give high quality information. Still, there is more to say about GA, and Podczeck's historical reconstruction of the text leaves ample space for examining the representational strategies, Francke's deployment of Biblical texts and his way of combining devotional project-making with manufacturing businesses and trade. More of this will become clear in my analysis. I shall present a brief overview of the three parts of GA.⁵

GA1

Headline: Confident approach to the noble Christian benefactors and venerated friends (pp. 39–68)

Twelve subsections in numerals:

- I. Importance of God's work in Halle (p. 40)
- II. Poor conditions in Halle (p. 43)
- III. Chance to accomplish much good, as demonstrated in Halle (p. 50)
- IV. Attention to the acceptable time to do good (p. 52)
- V. Previously and partly begun parts of the project (p. 53)
- VI. Trust in the Lord fulfilling his work (p. 56)
- VII. Duty of serving the neighbour with your talent (p. 57)
- VIII. To what extent timely goods may serve the work of the Lord (p. 60)
- IX. By whom the proposed suggestions will be carried out (p. 62)
- X. Why the proposed suggestions in fact will not be a burden (p. 62)
- XI. Why it is well to assist the Lord's work in Halle (p. 63)
- XII. Submitting the work to divine direction (p. 67)

³ See Podczeck's critique of the incomplete Fries edition: GA, pp. 26ff.

⁴ I rely here on Podczeck's edition. In order to get an impression of the material behind the edition, I did, however, consult the manuscripts at the Studienzentrum in Halle, which only made me appreciate Podczeck's work the more.

⁵ See also Podczeck, GA, pp. 34–36.

GA2

Headline: Openhearted and sincere news of the inner nature and importance of the work of the Lord at Halle, in the duchy of Magdeburg, both in its present state and in expectation of God's future blessing (pp. 69–155)

Subsections:

Chapter 1: The status of present day corruption, not only among pagans and other people but among the Christian people (pp. 70–84)

Chapter 2: God has opened a door to improve the present day corruption by means of the University in Halle and the *Foundations* (pp. 85–101)

Chapter 3: The use and benefit of the University and the *Foundations* designed to rear the youth and provide for the poor (pp. 102–129)

Chapter 4: On the imperfection and deficiency of the University and the *Foundations* (pp. 130–139)

Chapter 5: On amplifying God's work in Halle (pp. 140–155).

GA3

Headline: The actual project: how the affluent can lend a hand to the work (pp. 157–163)

Subsections:

- I. How the *Foundations* can be supported in many ways (p. 158)
- II. How the *Foundations* can be supported by loaning capital (p. 160)
- III. On conducting business (p. 161)
- IV. How the capital will be handled (p. 162)
- V. On interest (p. 163)

2.2 GA PART ONE

'Confident approach to the noble Christian benefactors and venerated friends' (GA1 pp. 39–68). As the title indicates, the first part of GA is formed as an approach: Francke's approach to a group of insiders, whose reaction to his text is presupposed to be positive, hence the designation of the addressees. GA1 comprises 12 subsections marked by Roman numerals. I have listed the subsections above, but I do not propose to go through them one by one, but follow their development and focus on five main themes.

I shall first look at the way Francke addresses one part of his audience and consequently leaves out another. Then I shall engage with the way eschatology is applied as a means for reform. The third theme is on the readiness and compliance of the Christian believer. The fourth theme concerns Francke's first outline of his plans for business and trading – a theme which is taken up and amplified in GA3. Finally, I shall look closely at Francke's staging of his utilitarian project, and the prosperous soil in which it is situated.

2.3 ADDRESSING INSIDERS AND OUTSIDERS

GA1 is a condensed version of the entire *Grosse Aufsatz*. It presents the reform project, and details on which Francke elaborates in the two other sections. We are thus given a first impression of the organization of the orphanage, but without details as to its large contours and industry. The first part circles around the reform project and seeks to place it in the right perspective, and thus give the reader a clear idea of what it is. For this purpose, a distinction is made between “Welt Brauch” and “Gottes Brauch” (GA1, p. 40). ‘Worldly use’ is “groß anzufangen” but eventually leads to a poor result, whereas ‘godly use’ begins modestly but turns out to be splendid (GA1, p. 40). From a worldly perspective, the work in Halle may seem to be a “Kinder=Spiel und Puppenwerck”, negligible compared to other universities (GA, p. 41), but the believer sees things from a different perspective. He recognizes the work as given by God, and knows it is worth honour and praise, and consequently also that it is a safe investment. With this statement, Francke trusts his account to his supportive readers, and relies on them to see things in the right perspective. Still, it is with hesitation that he makes his text public. He knows well of the worldly unease with his work, which is why he instructs his readers not to distribute the text, but to treat it with the utmost discretion and care. *Grosse Aufsatz* is thus not intended for everyone, but for a trusted circle.

Über dem ist im geringsten nicht meine intention, die gemeldte *Offenhertzige und gründliche Nachricht* sambt dem gethanen *Vorschlage*, wie auch diese meine *Anrede* iedermann vor die Augen zu legen, sondern nur einigen hohen und vornehmen Gönnern und treuerkannten Freunden, die schon selbst überzeugt sind, daß es Gottes Werck und ein Zeugniß des noch lebenden Gottes sey, und die in ihrem Gemüthe schon so disponiret sind, daß sie sich nicht allein über das gute freuen, sondern daßelbe auch so wol mit Auffrichtigkeit des Hertzens als mit gehöriger Klugheit gerne befördern helfen. Und dieselbigen ersuche ich dann hiermit demüthigst und respective dienstlich, *diese drey itzt benannte Schrifften keinem einigen andern Menschen lesen zu lassen, ohn allein denen welche ich selbst dazu benennet, ja auch in Erzählung und Erwähnung davon behutsam zu seyn, am wenigsten aber etwa geschehen zu laßen, (vielmehr daßelbige alles Fleißes zu verhüten) daß sie gantz oder stückweyse, heimlich oder öffentlich von*

iemanden abcopiret, und also zu einiger Hinderung des guten von der bösen Welt mißbrauchet werden möchte (original emphasis) (GA1, p. 42).

Francke wants to control the reading of his texts. He addresses an audience, which is presupposed to be convinced and thus favourably disposed to the text with a right and sincere mind. The reason that he has had reservations as to circulating his text is worldly malice.

Ich habe mich aber dazu nicht resolviren können, weil die Welt allzuboßhafftig ist, und das gute auff alle Weyse zu verhindern suchet; ja ich habe dasselbige Project gleichsam als verloren hingelegt, und es niemanden weiter vor die Augen kommen laßen, und habe indeßen unter mannichfältigen Prüfungen fort gearbeitet, bis sich nun alles im gegenwärtigen Zustande befindet, der in der *Offenhertzigen und gründlichen Nachricht* beschrieben (GA1, p. 54).

He had first put aside his project. but now the time had come to present it. It is appropriate here to recall that Francke's projects and written accounts generally were met with opposition from different sides. When he began publishing *Fußstapfen* in 1701 he encountered criticism from the authorities in the duchy of Magdeburg and the city of Halle, from the local parishioners in Glaucha and from his former nonconformist radical friends, who accused him of building Babel.⁶

He would also meet hostility from the Lutheran Orthodox camp.⁷ One accuser was the theological professor and proponent of Lutheran Orthodoxy Johann Friedrich Mayer (1650-1712). He called Francke a Jesuit and an eager beggar monk, and sarcastically remarked that the only thing to marvel at was that the orphanage was not yet officially a "Wech-

⁶ Veronika Albrecht-Birkner: "'Die Fußstapffen [...] GOTTES', Theologisches Argumentieren mit 'Wirtschaftswundern' im hallischen Pietismus bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts", in *AGP* (forthcoming). Hans Schneider, *Die unerfüllte Zukunft. Apokalyptische Erwartungen im radikalen Pietismus um 1700*, 1999, pp. 188–190. Gertraud Zaepernick: "Johann Georg Gichteis und seiner Nachfolger Briefwechsel mit den Hallischen Pietisten, besonders mit A. M. Francke". In *PuN* 8 (1982), p. 106.

⁷ The disputes between Lutheran Pietists and Orthodox voices were often personally motivated and thus difficult to evaluate in abstract theological terms. Erhard Peschke has remarked that the relationship between Mayer and Philipp Jacob Spener only became complicated after Mayer divorced his wife. Spener's disapproval of the divorce had an impact on Mayer's assault on Pietism. Peschke, *Streitschriften*, xxii. For a further account of the distinction between Pietism and Orthodoxy, see Matthias, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 17–49.

sel=Banck”.⁸ In 1706 he launched an attack with an allusion to Martha and Maria, hinting that the orphanage had become too busy with its worldly affairs to listen to Christ.⁹ He pointedly asked: “Wäre dieses GOTTes Werck/er würde es gar wol ohne Capital erhalten haben”.¹⁰ Another accuser was Ernst Valentin Löscher (1673–1749). He deplored the way the orphanage in Halle was represented and staged as if it were a holy place, and due to this exempt from criticism.¹¹

Despite worldly resistance, the time has now come, Francke announces, to share his texts with friends and hand-picked benefactors. These readers are from the outset on his side and therefore positively disposed to the reform project, but this does not mean that encouraging directions are not needed. Francke reminds his readers to take “die gantze Sache” into their hearts, reflect on it and pray; they must sincerely ask themselves how they can become divine instruments serving a work, which is already begun but not yet completed.

Ja eben dieses hat mich so viel mehr angetrieben und auffgemuntert, das vorige project nach dem gegenwärtigen Zustande und meiner itzigen Einsicht mit reiffer Überlegung einzurichten, und so dann daßelbige christlichen Gönnern vor Augen zu legen, nicht allen, sondern nur wenigen, nemlich einigen von denen, zu welchen ich die Hoffnung und das Vertrauen gefaßet, daß sie schon so viel Liebe zu Gott und seinem Wercke haben, die gantze Sache deren Wichtigkeit andere nicht genug zu Hertzen nehmen möchten, mit stillem Gemüth und ernstlichem Nachdencken zu lesen, sie sodann im Gebeth Gott vorzutragen, und als vor dem Angesichte Gottes zu erwegen, ob sie sich nicht als Werckzeuge von dem großen Gott können oder wollen gebrauchen laßen, einem so wichtigen Werck mit Rath und That beyzustehen, und ihre Sorge dahin zu richten, wie alle Gelegenheiten, so Gott anweist, eine rechtschaffene durchdringende Beßerung in allen Ständen zu schaffen, möchten ergriffen [!], die Zeit gewonnen und in wenig Jahren dasjenige, was sie hier als projectiret lesen, im Wercke dar gestellet und sodann unter dem

⁸ Johann Friedrich Mayer: *Das durch die beschäftigte Martham, und nicht wie fürgegeben wird, durch die das beste Teil erwählende Mariam seinen Unterhalt und Reichtum suchende Waisenhaus in Halle*, 1706, p. 11: “So beweiset GOTT bey den Wäysenhouse in Halle was den Unterhalt betrifft / keine Wunder/ und giebt keine extraordinaire Zeichen seiner Liebe / ja es wäre Wunder wenn das Wäysenhauß zu Halle / daß es mehr einzunehmen als auszugeben hat / daß es nicht ein grosses Capital gewinne / selbiges sammle und zurück lege, Ja, kurz / es wäre Wunder daß bey solchen Einnahmen / nicht sich bald das Wäysenhauß in eine grosse Wechsel=Banck sollte verwandeln.”

⁹ In 1711 the text was republished as an appendix to Mayer’s *Manipuli Observationum Antipietisticarum*. See Valentin Ernst Löscher’s 1711 issue of *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, pp. 831–832.

¹⁰ Mayer, *Maria-Martha*, p. 26.

¹¹ Ernst Valentin Löscher, “Timotheus Verinus” in *Unschuldige Nachrichten 1711*, pp. (672–734) 672. The work was later comprised in *Vollständige Timotheus Verinus 1718–1722*.

Segen Gottes das gantze Land mit Erkenntniß des HErrn als mit einem Strom bedeckt werden möge (GA1, pp. 55–56, original emphasis)

We here see how the readers are expected to receive these stirring words as a devotional message, which invites and includes them. That the project so far has been postponed is turned into an advantage; ‘mature consideration’ has led to the ‘present understanding’. In the quotation, we see that the reform project is metaphorically conjured into a ‘flooding of the earth with divine knowledge’. This description is worth bearing in mind, since metaphors of the flood recur in GA2, where corruption is compared to the destructive Old Testament deluge. Flooding is the metaphor for both the threatening disaster and the means to prevent it; and thus an effective discourse of Christian reform.

Elaborating on how the reader can support the reform in Halle, Francke gives an example. The free table, the stipend system, is packed, and hundreds of students stand in line for vacant seats. There are more needy students than there are stipends, and the talented youth among the poor cannot study for want of cash. It is among the poor that the best pastoral candidates are found, Francke claims (GA1, p. 46).¹² As director of the orphanage, he is challenged from two sides, by those who want a seat at the free table and, from within, by keeping up the supplies for the free tables (GA1, p. 47). This is the situation in which he turns to his readers with a plea to support a work serving ‘the glory of God and the good of man’ – “Gottes Ehre und des Nechsten Nutzen zubefördern” (GA1, p. 50) – which is a recurrent catchphrase in *Grosse Aufsatz*.

2.4 SEIZING THE ACCEPTABLE TIME (A)

The management of time is a central theme in Halle Pietism.¹³ It is closely related to eschatology – or more precisely, the way eschatology is strategically applied as a smokescreen for evoking urgency and to exhort others to manage and seize time. I shall begin by giving one or two examples of how Francke construes time management, and then move on to a discussion of pastoral eschatology.

¹² The contrasting point of view is conveyed by Francke’s colleague from the neighbouring faculty of law Christian Thomasius (1655–1728). He complains of the great number of poor and retarded students at the theological faculty. No other faculty is so full of poor students “als die theologische... und zwar nicht allein mit armen und geringen Standes-Leuten, sondern auch mit tummen und ungeschickten Köpfen, so daß niemand so plump und albern ist, der nicht meine, er sei geschickt genug, ein Kirchen-Amt zu verwalten und die Theologie zu studieren”. Quoted from Hinrichs, *Preußentum*, pp. 179–180.

¹³ See for instance Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, pp. 34–36, and Deppermann, *Pietismus*, pp. 93–94.

The work at Halle offers ample opportunity to do good, but too often the divine initiative is neglected. Instead of the God-given opportunity being seized, it is turned down. Francke conveys the relation between divine initiative and man's sensitivity and responsibility with the image of God opening doors.¹⁴ The image is applied as a rhetorical figure, 'God has truly opened a door for man', which urges us to take part in God's work and prevent divine initiative from being neglected.¹⁵ This is a typical way for Francke to call his public into action. He seeks to change the present by evoking the coterminous reality of God's initiative and man's responsibility. He often applies an apocalyptic drift, not to scare away but in order to dramatize his encouragements and admonitions. The apocalyptic and eschatological staging of pastoral care looms large in Francke's text. He situates the reform project in a tension between 'bad and acceptable time'. Since the work offers more opportunity to do good than is realized or realizable, the paradoxical result is that precious time is constantly lost.

Mein vornehmstes Anliegen bey dem allen ist dieses, daß bey der so großen Gelegenheit gutes zuthun, und denen dabey befindlichen Hindernißen immer ein Jahr nach dem andern vorbey läuft, und also dasjenige, was das aller köstlichste in diesem Leben ist, nemlich die *Zeit in welcher gutes geschehen kann*, verloren wird, welche man doch unmöglich wieder gewinnen kann, wenn sie einmal vorbey ist (GA1, p. 52).

Francke compares the loss of time to a city set on fire. For the inhabitants time is urgent; once the fire spreads, fighting it will be useless.

Wenn das Volk in einer Stadt eine Feuersbrunst auffgehen siehet, so liegt ihm alles allein daran, daß es die Zeit gewinne: Denn, wenn das Feuer überhand genommen, und die Häuser in die Asche gelegt, so helfen ihnen alle ihre Spritzen und Feuer=Ordnungen nicht. Und gesetzt auch, daß *ein* Mann mit seiner Spritze sichs sauer werden, ließe, und ein wenig rettete, so könnte doch mit hundert Spritzen in gleicher Zeit hundertmal so viel gerettet werden, welches inzwischen alles verloren gehet (GA1, p. 52).

¹⁴ The metaphor of 'God opening doors' alludes to Rev 3:8 "I have set before you an open door, which no one is able to shut". This reference occurs in one of the seven "Epistolae apocalypticae", which in the context of Halle Pietism were considered to be Pastoral Letters and mirrors for churches. See the third part. Each of the seven angels of the seven churches represents a measurement of the prophetic and moral quality of churches. As we shall see, the metaphor of God opening doors combines an apocalyptic drift with pastoral care.

¹⁵ The opened doors are recurrent in GA2. Francke claims that the reader will be attuned to the them after having read the entire GA. "...wie denn Gott in der Wahrheit die Thür so weit auffgethan, daß man wol in der gantzen Welt etwas gutes ausrichten, und seine Ehre und des Nechsten Heyl auff tausenderley Weyse befördern könnte, wenn nichts wäre, das es auffhielte. Es wird dieses besser verstanden werden, wenn man die beyliegende Offenhertzige und gründliche Nachricht wird gelesen haben." GA2, p. 51.

In this example, the man at pains to fight the fire recalls Francke's own role, and the question 'how much more would not 100 hoses have helped?' recalls the role of his readers. He is, in other words, calling for assistance among his readers. He develops the argument further with two scriptural references. The first is to the account of Moses and Aaron preventing a plague inflicted as a jealous revenge of the Lord:

So Aaron took it [the censer] as Moses had ordered, and ran into the middle of the assembly, where the plague had already begun among the people. He put on the incense, and made atonement for the people (Numb 16:47)¹⁶

Francke comments on Aron's haste, "Warumb lieff er? Die weil vom Zeit Verlust zugleich auch der Verlust der Menschen dependirete, und es ihm daran gelegen war, daß nicht noch mehrere an der Plage stürben" (p. 52). Saving time is ultimately a matter of saving life. The second reference quotes the words of Jesus in the Gospel of John: "We must work the works of him who sent me while it is day; night is coming when no one can work." (John 9:4). Francke maps the biblical words onto his own time and thus constructs a sense of urgency.

So ist itzt auch ein Tag des Heyls, und eine sonderbare Gnaden=Zeit, darinnen viel gutes gewürcket werden kan. Lassen wir die vorbey gehen, so kann eine Nacht drauff folgen, das ist, eine solche Zeit, darinnen niemand würcken kan, und weder die Gelegenheit noch der Segen sich findet, so itzt von Gott angeboten wird, noch die Leute da sind, die etwas gutes zu würcken Lust haben, wenn man sichs sonst alles wollte kosten lassen (GA1, pp. 52–53).

The risk of losing time, daylight and working hours is not meant as a threat, but serves to encourage. Francke warrants that God's judgement ("wohl verdiente Gerichte Gottes") can be turned into a blessing (GA1, p. 53). Still, man must take responsibility and seize the opportunity to realize the divine initiative. God has opened the door and he has no part in the success or failure of what follows, which depends on man's willingness to be turned into a divine instrument.

Darumb halte ich dafür, es fehle auch itzt nicht an Gott, als ob der nicht *mehr* Segen Hülffe und Rettung geben wollte, sondern es fehle allein an den Menschen, *daß sie sich von ihm nicht zu Werck=Zeugen seiner Gnade nach seinen Willen gebrauchen lassen* (GA1, p. 53).

The way in which Francke imbues time with urgency and uses it to exhort his fellow citizens to action and to seize the acceptable time, is a core element of time management and pastoral eschatology.

¹⁶ In some Bibles the reference Numb 16:47 occurs as Numb 17:12. The different versing is presumably influenced by Latin manuscripts. Both the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible end Numb 16 at verse 35, whereas the Vulgate takes it up to verse 50. I mention this, because I had trouble looking up Francke's reference to "4 B. Mose XVI. 47", which in some editions of the Bible is at Numb 17:12.

EXCURSUS: PASTORAL ESCHATOLOGY

‘Eschatological presence’ is, in short, what the role of eschatology in Halle Pietism is all about. I propose now to bring in the two terms ‘pastoral eschatology’ and the (discussion about) ‘chiliasm’. The question that has arisen is, which terms are apt for rendering eschatological presence? On which premises are they based and which associations do they imply?

With the term ‘pastoral eschatology’, my intention is to reshape a concept of eschatology which focuses on how eschatology is (a) constructed in texts and (b) applied for pastoral and paraenetical purposes: that is to say, an eschatological concept which uses eschatology as a smokescreen for reform. Such a concept or rather use of eschatology is attested. It is found in the biblical literary and patristic texts. Since Pietists are known to be preoccupied with close Bible readings, and to have the early church as a model for true and sincere Christianity, I find it relevant to highlight this pre-Augustinian context, when debating the role of eschatology.¹⁷

In the *Shepherd of Hermas*, an early patristic composition from the early to mid-second century C.E., we find a striking example of the use of eschatology as a pretext for pastoral purposes. The text is admonitory, and in the guise of an apocalypse. The theme is the life and identity of the baptized believer, who sins and is led to repentance and conversion. Hermas, the protagonist, is the repentant sinner who undergoes a repetitive process of conversion, which he endures in the company of different visionary or revelatory figures, such as the church in the figure of an old lady, who is rejuvenating, and a shepherd (or guardian angel). Although the text adheres to the apocalyptic genre, it is not dramatic or visionary in the same way as for instance the Book of Revelation. Its apocalyptic and eschatological design serves moral purposes and reform. In his commentary to the text, Norbert Brox has a section on eschatology to which I shall refer.¹⁸ First of all, he mentions that eschatology in the *Hermas text* is ‘völlig instrumentalisiert’. The true concern is not Christ’s second coming or the end of all time, but rather the “Eilbedürftigkeit” and “Frist der Busse”.¹⁹ The text is charged with urgency, yet eschatology is not a theme in itself, but rather a smokescreen for repentance and reform.

¹⁷ I am here actually following the advice that Wallmann polemically gives Aland, as will become clear below.

¹⁸ Norbert Brox: *Der Hirt des Hermas Übersetzt und erklärt*, 1991, pp. 505–512.

¹⁹ Brox, *Hirt*, pp. 505–506: “Die wichtigste Information zu diesem Thema im PH ist die, daß die Eschatologie hier nahezu völlig instrumentalisiert ist für die Interpretation der Eilbedürftigkeit und Frist der Buße. (...) Denn in der Tat ist der PH eher ein Aufruf zur Reform der gegenwärtigen Kirche als eine Verkündigung der von Gott bald herbeizuführenden Zukunft”.

Die apokalyptisch-eschatologische Einrahmung des Appells zur Buße ist Staffage, nicht Thema. Eine apokalyptische Phraseologie von Eile und Ende wird von H in paränetischer Funktion gebraucht. In der Bildhälfte seiner Allegorien redet er eschatologisch von Frist, Verzögerung und Ende; in der Sachhälfte interessiert daran das Ende der Buße und damit der Sünde (und umgekehrt), nicht das Ende der Welt. (Brox, *Hirt*, pp. 507-508)

A part of the eschatologically charged design is the imposition of a closing deadline – the sinful believer must hurry up and repent before time runs out. The deadline, however, is never set and it turns out to be fictitious (“H erzeugt eine gekünstelte Naherwartung”).²⁰ This is not done to deceive, but to put the believer under pressure and urge him to repent. Hesitation generates corruption: “jeder Aufschub, alles Zögern bedeutet das Verderben”.²¹ The last sentence here shows the combination of eschatology and time management, and it perfectly matches the way Francke uses eschatology as an instrument for his reform project.²²

Chiliasm

Much has been said and written on eschatology in the Early Modern Era and in Pietism.²³ One of the frequent terms in the scholarly literature is chiliasm, which appears as an umbrella concept for ideas associated with the role of eschatology in Pietism. Certainly, many good and pertinent points are covered by this term, but for the sake of clarity, I intend to use different ones. I shall now explain that decision: but to begin with a preventive remark, I do not discard the concept of chiliasm, but prefer other terms to describe the uses of eschatology in Halle Pietism.

In the seventeenth century, the term chiliasm or chiliast was much misused. The word was not only used to discern eschatological questions, it was also a phantom term applied by adversaries to denigrate their oppo-

²⁰ Brox, *Hirt*, p. 508: To support this surprising statement, Brox quotes the following line from Van Ejik’s commentary: “La Naherwartung est donc ici aussi artificielle; elle est un climat créé délibérément par l’auteur, enfin de mieux faire ressortir l’urgence de la μετάνοια”.

²¹ Brox, *Hirt*, p. 508.

²² I am not aware of any direct link between Francke and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, but the reference in *Idea*, p. 241 comes close enough. Francke advises his students to read “Epistolas Clementis, Ignatii &c. Justini Martyris, & Clementis Alexandrini...”. The appropriation of the Pastoral Letters furthermore shows a similar approach to eschatology. Compare the eighth and the ninth Titus Lectures, in which Francke expounds the meaning of Titus 3:1–7. See part three.

²³ Ulrich Gäbler, “Geschichte, Gegenwart und Zukunft,” in *Gdp* 4 (2004), pp. 19–48. Hans Schneider, “Radikaler Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert” in *Gdp* 1 (2001), pp. 391–438. Scheider, *Zukunft* (1999), pp. 187–210.

nents. Gottfried Leibniz was well aware of this usage²⁴ and explicitly warned against it.²⁵

Jacob Taubes (1923–1987) has characterized European eschatology in the Early Modern Era as a rhythm.

Die Geschichte der neuzeitlichen Eschatologie läßt, wenn der Blick auf das wesentliche Geschehen geheftet bleibt, eine gesetzmäßige Rhythmik erkennen. Die Summe der Eschatologie läßt sich in der alten apokalyptischen Formel: Reich Gottes auf Erden zusammenfassen. Die Formel vom Reich Gottes auf Erden ist zweisinnig, und der Akzent liegt jeweils entweder auf dem Beginn oder auf dem Ende (Taubes, *Eschatologie*, p. 115)

Taubes here argues that the proclamation of God's kingdom on earth is ambiguous, that it impacts the present era with a disruptive promise. The proclamation of it entails the realization of it, which is unconfined to the present era and therefore breaks it, and 'burns down the walls of churchly institutions.'²⁶ His definition of eschatology is central to Pietism. Johannes Wallmann would probably agree with it, but he would use the term chiliasm to describe the rhythm and the tension between present and future.

The question whether chiliasm is a "Zentralbegriff" or not, was the *point de repère* in a well-known discussion between Johannes Wallmann and

²⁴ Leibniz, in a letter to Sophie Charlotte (26 October 1691) wrote: "De peur qu'on manque d'heretiques Messieurs les Theologiens font quelques fois tout ce qu'ils peuvent pour en trouver; et pour les immortaliser, ils leur donnent des noms de party, comme Chiliastes, Jansenistes, Quietistes, Pietistes, Payonistes." *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, 1992, pp. 38–39. See also Bruun, Mejrur and Nørgaard, *Pietismus Handbuch* (forthcoming).

²⁵ Howard Hotson: *Alsted and Leibniz, on God, the magistrate and the millennium*, 1999, p. 154. In a letter to Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels (May 1692), Leibniz describes different types of chiliasm, "chiliasmus subtilis" and "chiliasmus crassus", related to different specimens of Pietism – Spener and the more radical. "On distinguera tousjours entre M' Spener, et des gens pieux, sages, et sçavans comme Luy, et entre quelques malaviséz qui abusent de ces Principes, et qui donnent dans les visions, ou dans le Chiliasme grossier." Hotson, *Alsted*, p. 153, note 93. Hotson mentions that Leibniz supported the writings of Johann Wilhelm Petersen, whom he regarded as both simple and erudite. Under a pseudonym he wrote "a generally sympathetic review" of Petersen's *Mysterion apokatastasis pantôn*. Hotson, *Alsted*, pp. 185ff. This is consistent with Hotson's claim that Leibniz believed eschatology to be a matter for literature rather than politics, hence his encouragement and support of Petersen's *Uranias*, a poetical account of the Apocalypse. Hotson, *Alsted*, pp. 192ff.

²⁶ Jacob Taubes, *Abendländische Eschatologie*, [1947] 2007, p. 115: "Die Verkündigung des Reich Gottes drängt zur Verwirklichung. Dieser Rhythmus von Verkündigung und Verwirklichung, von 'ecclesia spiritualis' und 'auf Erden' durchzieht das eschatologische Geschehen."

Kurt Aland in the 1970s and 1980s. Let us now summarize some of the arguments in that discussion.²⁷

The starting point is Philipp Jacob Spener's *Pia Desideria* (1675) and the catchphrase "Hoffnung besserer Zeiten". This short phrase is the central nerve in the eschatology of German Pietism, and it can be interpreted with different accentuations.²⁸ Wallmann eagerly interprets 'hope for better times' as chiliasm; Aland is hesitant. Much of the debate concerns the sources of inspiration for Spener's catchphrase, and *when* eschatology became a pertinent matter to him.²⁹ Wallmann understands chiliasm as interchangeable with both 'Hoffnung besserer Zeiten' and the promise of God's kingdom on earth. It covers both elements, he argues.³⁰ His definition is broad and inclusive, unlike Aland's, which is narrower, and hinges on a particular scriptural verse: Rev 20:4 ("...They came to life and reigned with Christ a thousand years"). Wallmann is sceptical: he therefore plunders the history of the Western Church from Augustine onwards to show that chiliasm is located in a salvific historical context which is by no means restricted to Rev 20.³¹ Wallmann, in polemical vein, leaves it to Aland to prove whether Rev 20 is a "Zentralstelle" in the patristic literature before Augustine, or not: "Ich überlasse Aland deshalb freiwillig (...) das Feld des altkirchlichen Chiliasmus vor Augustin."³² I earlier mentioned the *Shepherd of Hermas*. This text would belong to the group to which Wallmann alludes by mentioning "Papias, Barnabasbrief u.a." Little does it matter, however, since Rev 20 also is unimportant in *Hermas*. Wallmann's gesture to Aland is clearly polemical, but it nevertheless raises a relevant question: where and in which compartment or archive of church history do we look for support, when working on eschatology? To my mind "das Feld des altkirchlichen Chiliasmus vor Augustin" is a pertinent context for Francke's use of eschatology. Patristic sources may be temporally or thematically more distant than Augustine and Luther, but it is nevertheless relevant to the Pietists' making of theology in the seventeenth century; to the way they

²⁷ The debate includes other documents, but I refer specifically to the two articles published in 1981 in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*: Kurt Aland: "Spener — Schütz — Labadie? Notwendige Bemerkungen zu den Voraussetzungen und der Entstehung des deutschen lutherischen Pietismus". *ZThK* (1981), pp. 206–234; and Johannes Wallmann: "Pietismus und Chiliasmus: Zur Kontroverse um Philipp Jakob Speners Hoffnung besserer Zeiten". *ZThK* (1981), pp. 235–266.

²⁸ Schneider, *Zukunft*, p. 208.

²⁹ Wallmann, *Chiliasmus*, p. 247.

³⁰ Wallmann, *Chiliasmus*, p. 252.

³¹ Wallmann, *Chiliasmus*, pp. 250, 258.

³² Wallmann, *Chiliasmus*, p. 258.

contemporized the Bible and promoted the ideal of imitating the early church.³³

Wallmann admits that chiliasm is not free of problems. First of all, Spener was hesitant to use it, and Wallmann informs us that it would in fact be wrong to call Spener a chiliast. He attempted rather to redefine and moderate the term, Wallmann asserts.³⁴ The word is also used differently among scholars,³⁵ and, in general, is difficult to define, since it implies a vague notion of a thousand-year reign.³⁶

Chiliasm introduces the idea of an interregnum between the present age and the day of judgement, but the quantity of a thousand years is both too abstract and too concrete a label for the future. The point of the interregnum is to postpone the day of judgement and generate a message of comfort. Instead of discerning an opposition between “Nah und fern Erwartung”, Wallmann finds chiliasm suitable for expressing the coterminous presence of near and far expectations:

die Erwartung [richtet sich ja im Chiliasmus] nicht nur auf *einen* Gegenstand, sondern auf mehrere (...) ‘Naherwartung’ und ‘Fernerwartung’ sind in chiliastischen System keine sich ausschließenden Gegensätze mehr. Sie können sich gegenseitig bedingen (Wallmann, *Chiliasmus*, p. 264).

His point is clear: chiliasm is an indispensable concept. It is not without problems, but it is worth defending. This is not the place to go further into the debate, which according to a short remark by Ulrich Barth was won by Wallmann.³⁷ Barth himself explains Spener’s ‘Hoffnung besserer Zeiten’ without using the term chiliasm. To my mind it is clarifying, when he speaks instead of a “praktische Hoffnung”, an attitude and a responsibility orientated towards the future (“Zukunftseinstellung” and “Zukunftsverant-

³³ For examples of this, see part one and part three.

³⁴ Wallmann, *Chiliasmus*, p. 256–257: “Im übrigen hat Spener den Chiliasmusbegriff, weil er im kirchlichen Gebrauch eine Bezeichnung für Ketzerei war, von der pietistischen Bewegung mit Bedacht ferngehalten wissen wollen. Man steht jedenfalls mit Spener und der pietistischen Historiographie in Widerspruch, wenn man Spener unter die Chiliasten rechnet. Spener hat allerdings versucht, durch Rückgang auf den Wort-sinn den Chiliasmusbegriff von der ketzerischen Färbung reinzuwaschen.”

³⁵ Wallmann, *Chiliasmus*, p. 255 “Der Chiliasmusbegriff wird ja in der Forschung recht unterschiedlich gefasst”.

³⁶ Wallmann, *Chiliasmus*, p. 255, note 70.

³⁷ Ulrich Barth, “Pietismus als religiöse Kulturidee”, in *HF 17:1* (2005), p. 247.

wortung”).³⁸ These descriptions bring out the practical aspects of the hope for better times, and leave out theoretical distinctions and terminology. In addition to this ‘practical hope’ and ‘attitude turned towards the future’ are easier notions to work with when reading texts.

To sum up: with or without the term chiliasm, the role of eschatology in Halle Pietism is characterized by a charged presence. If we call it chiliasm, we must bear in mind both the misuse and the contested connotations of the term. The concept of pastoral eschatology, which I have tried to reshape above is easier to relate to other concepts. Moreover, ‘pastoral’ can be taken as an indication of the purpose of eschatology, the end towards which it strives. Finally, the aim with pastoral eschatology is to find out how the eschatology is constructed and applied in texts, and not whether or not it existed as a set of concepts in the mind of Pietist writers. I shall give an example of this in the following section, which takes up a thread begun earlier on examples in *Grosse Aufsatz* of time management and Francke’s employment of eschatology.

2.5 SEIZING THE ACCEPTABLE TIME (B)

At a first glance Francke’s staging of his reform project seems to evoke an expectation of the fast-approaching end of time. Yet the expanding project, and his fundraising, fits ill with and contradicts such an apocalyptic prospect. It is nevertheless against a charged backdrop, *as if* the world were about to end, that he develops the call to reform the world. We run two risks if we label this chiliasm. On the one hand we might overlook the circumstance that eschatology is here turned to account as a means or a smokescreen for promoting a project. On the other hand, it could lead to speculation about whether or by which eschatological concepts Francke is influenced, instead of focusing on how he constructs eschatological tension in his texts. When Udo Sträter states that Francke’s “Reformpläne waren letztlich eingebettet in sein chiliastisch geprägtes Reich-Gottes-Konzept”, he presupposes and directs attention to a concept Francke *had*, not on the

³⁸ Barth, *Kulturidee*, p. 249: “Die Gewissheit des Eintreffens eines besseren Zustands der Christenheit ist keine theoretische Schlussfolgerung aus theologischen Zukunftsspekulationen über die Bekehrung der Juden und den Fall Roms – auch wenn Spener zwischen beiden einen Zusammenhang annimmt. Sie verkörpert vielmehr in erster Linie eine in der göttlichen Verheißung und Vorsehung begründete aktive Zukunftseinstellung und Zukunftsverantwortung. Es handelt sich um eine eminent praktische Hoffnung.”

use he made of it.³⁹ I would put the statement actively: Francke used an eschatologically charged concept in the way he designed his reform plans. Sträter argues, in the same sentence, that Francke's eschatological concept made it possible for him to relate himself and his work to the Apostle Paul. Again, I would rephrase that: Francke contemporizes Paul in order to stage, and lend authority to, his reform project. He did not call upon Paul because of any shared eschatological concept.

I have already given examples of how Francke employed the metaphor of 'God opening doors', John 9:4 and Numb 16:47 to imbue time with urgency and exhort men to take action. I shall now give another example, which clarifies the distinction between 'bad and acceptable time' and shows how Francke uses Pauline authority.

In the edifying discourse *Der rechte Gebrauch der Zeit*,⁴⁰ we find an interesting modulation of the catchphrase 'Hoffnung besserer Zeiten'. Francke's rendering is: "Bessere Leute, bessere Zeiten; schlimmere Leute, schlimmere Zeiten."⁴¹ This statement replaces aspiring hope with a matter-of-fact assertion. The context does however show that the reform of man and time is spatially configured between a background of 'bad time' and a horizon of 'acceptable time'.⁴² This is the main argument expounded in *Der rechte Gebrauch der Zeit*. Francke sets forth the coordinates, 'bad and acceptable time', by combining words from two different verses of Scripture.

See, now is the acceptable time; see, now is the day of salvation (2 Cor 6:2)

...making the most of the time, because the days are evil (Eph 5:16)

³⁹ Sträter, *Weltgestaltung*, p. 31: "Franckes Reformpläne waren letztlich eingebettet in sein chiliastisch geprägtes Reich-Gottes-Konzept, das es ihm möglich machte, die zu Glauche gemachte Anstalten im direkten Rückgriff auf den Apostel Paulus, von dem er auch sonst gern Elemente seines Selbstverständnisses entlehnte, unmittelbar als das 'Werck Gottes zu Halle' anzusehen und zu bezeichnen."

⁴⁰ The discourse was delivered at a "Sing-Stunde" on 4 January 1713. It was published the same year and republished in 1715, and again in 1724 in more than 1,000 copies. August Hermann Francke, *Der rechte gebrauch der Zeit*, in *KTFS* 12 (2012), pp. 5–39. ⁴⁰ I have earlier worked out some of the points that follow in a jointly written article: Kristian Mejrup et al., "Withdrawal and Engagement in the Long Seventeenth Century: Four Case Studies", in *JEMCI*:2 (2014) pp. 249–343. Where applicable such points are indicated with reference to this article. See pp. 337–339.

⁴¹ Francke, *Zeit*, p. 12: "Wie nemlich die Zeit gut war von GOTTes Seiten, so war eben dieselbe Zeit böse von Seiten der Menschen nicht aller, sondern derer, die den Tag des Heyls verachteten, und nicht erkanten die Zeit, darin sie von GOTT in Gnaden heimgesuchet wurden. Denn wenn die Menschen gut sind, so ist auch die Zeit gut; hingegen wenn die Menschen böse sind, so ist auch die Zeit böse. Bessere Leute, bessere Zeiten; schlimmere Leute, schlimmere Zeiten."

⁴² Compare this with the sixth and seventh Titus Lecture in part three.

The first verse establishes a stage for the present era, the second exhorts to action. Francke changes ‘making the most of the time’ (ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν) into ‘buying time’ and urges his listeners to ‘be buyers of time, since the days are evil’.⁴³ The call is given urgency by the looming backdrop: ‘because the days are evil’. By merging two passages from Paul and turning a Greek participle into an imperative, he forges a rhetorical tool apt for exhorting to action. The use of eschatology as a means to reform is thus an intrinsic part of his exposition of the Bible text. In the following passage, we see how Francke manages to map the tension in the two pauline verses onto his own times:

Was nun Paulus zu seiner Zeit den Corinthiern und Ephesern geschrieben, und mit grossen Nachdruck eingeschärffet hat, das ist zwar, gleichwie sonst alle göttliche Wahrheit, allen zur Lehre geschrieben, und mag dahero auch zu aller Zeit nützlich angewendet werden: wer aber nur ein wenig Augen hat die Zeichen unserer Zeiten zu erkennen, wird leichtlich mercken, daß wie die beyden erklärten Sprüche Pauli vornehmlich zu unserer Zeit uns recht zu Nutz zu machen hohe Ursache haben (Francke, *Zeit*, p. 18).

Paul’s message to his churches is universal and applies to all times. According to Francke, there is no diminishing of the eschatological tension, it is still applicable. The way he here contemporizes Paul is in a continuum with the other examples mentioned earlier.

Intrinsic to eschatology in the early modern era is the ‘rhythm’ between proclaiming and realizing God’s kingdom. How the attempt to realize the divine kingdom impacts and charges the present era may differ. In *Grosse Aufsatz*, Francke argues that God’s kingdom is revealed by man’s compliance. This is the argument that I shall now pursue.

2.6 REVEALING GOD’S KINGDOM

Francke introduces Old Testament figures as exemplary models of compliance. By following their example, we take part in revealing God’s kingdom. The challenge of promoting God’s kingdom is that it is hidden. “Mir ist gar nicht leide, daß Gott sein Werck werde stecke lassen”. Francke stresses that man can do nothing about it, but rely upon the second line in the Lord’s Prayer, that God’s kingdom ‘also may come to us’. Moreover we must be ready to comply with God’s will and providential guidance (GA1, p. 56). The first Old Testament figure that Francke presents is Esther, followed by “Wahre Knechte Gottes”, which in a subtle way refers to David and Moses. The reference to Esther limps: Francke only quotes one part of a scripture verse and omits another. Thereby the emphasis is placed

⁴³ Francke, *Zeit*, pp. 15-16. See also Deppermann, *Pietismus*, p. 93, who observes the deviation in Francke’s translation of ἐξαγοραζόμενοι from the more passive voicing in the German [Lutheran] rendering: “Schickt euch in die Zeit”.

on Esther's readiness to undertake divine actions, and not the dire consequences were she to refuse. The verse is from the Book of Esther 4:14, where Mordecai, her uncle, advises her to take action and prevent the annihilation of the Jews. It reads, bracketing the part that Francke omits, "For if you keep silence at such a time as this, relief and deliverance will rise for the Jews from another quarter (but you and your father's family will perish)". Francke explains Mordecai's words in a way that echoes his own plea to his supportive readers:

Denn er [Mardochai] wußte wohl, daß Gott an Menschen nicht gebunden sey, aber er wollte der Esther gerne diesen göttlichen Segen anzuwenden, daß sie das Werckzeug zu solcher Errettung wäre (GA1, p. 56).

Esther is a strong example of a royal figure, who sets aside her own will in order to comply with God's plan. It is illustrative that Francke uses the same verse of Scripture for his theology students in *Idea Studiosi Theologiae* (1712). The focus and emphasis is there however very different, and the part of Esther 4:14 that Francke omits in GA, is the part stressed in *Idea*: "but you and your father's family will perish". This testifies to Francke's skilled use of the Bible, but also to the way the internal instruction to students was more pointed. In *Idea*, Francke emphasizes the consequence of their defiance and pretence; if they do not comply and become 'vessels with a clean conscience' another 'apostle' will fill in for the 'renegade'.⁴⁴ In GA, Francke is more moderate, his focus is on the possibility of preventing catastrophe by our willingness to become an instrument. Compliance is instrumental in revealing God's kingdom – and it becomes a proof of divine agency and a promise of results beyond the imaginable.⁴⁵

The two other Old Testament figures to whom Francke alludes as "Wahre Knechte Gottes" are David and Moses. He quotes a passage from the Bi-

⁴⁴ Francke, *Idea*, pp. 6–7: "Gedencket doch daran / was Mardochai der Esther sagen liesse: Wo du wirst zu dieser Zeit schweigen / so wird eine Hülffe und Errettung aus einem andern Ort den Jüden entstehen / und du und deines Vaters Hauss werdet umkommen. Also sage ich euch auch! wo du dieser Zeit / da es nicht zu leugnen/ dass die Christenheit ihren Weg verderbet hat / wo nun / sage ich / einige unter euch / so praetendiren Lehrer zu werden / sich nicht recht dazu anschicken / noch in Göttlicher Ordnung darnach trachten / daß sie geheiligte Gefässe werden / und das Geheimniss des Glaubens / so sie andern verkündigen wollen / selbst in reinem Gewissen haben [1 Tim 3:9] / und bewahren mögen; so wird GOTT schon andere dazu tüchtig machen/ solche aber werdet ihr Urtheil tragen. Da Judas abgewichen / traff das Loos Matthiam" [Acts 1:25-26].

⁴⁵ GA1, p. 56: "So glaube ich dann von gantzem Hertzen, Gott werde sein Werck keines Weges stecken laßen, sondern es wol noch weit herrlicher, als ich mir itzo einen Begriff davon gemacht, hinaus führen, es sey nun, daß er es zu dieser Zeit und schnell, welches ja ein ieder wol wünsehen möchte, oder noch erst künfftig, durch diese oder jene Werkzeuge, auff diese oder auff eine andere Weyse, durch dieses oder ein anderes äußeres Mittel thue."

ble commentary by the French Port Royal theologian, Louis-Isaac Le Maître de Sacy (1613-1684).⁴⁶

Mir gefallen dißfalls sonderlich wohl die Worte eines Frantzösischen Scribenten : les vrais Serviteurs de Dieu sont plus attachez a son amour qu’a ses dons mêmes, et ne veulent rien dans le monde non seulement qui ne leur vienne de sa part, mais qui ne soit même dans le temps et dans les momens de son éternelle Providence qu’ils envisagent uniquement, oder Wahre Knechte Gottes hangen mehr an seiner Liebe als an seinen Gaben, und begehren nichts in der Welt, es sei denn, daß es nicht allein ihnen von Gott zukomme, sondern auch daß es ihnen in derjenigen Zeit, und in dem Augenblick in welchem seine ewige Providenz es ihnen bestimmt, gegeben werde, als auff welche ewige Vorsehung Gottes sie allein ihr Augenmerck richten (GA1, p. 57).⁴⁷

As with the example of Esther, the theme is compliance with the will of God. The passage from de Sacy adds to this a focus on providential guidance. Francke does not identify the ‘French writer’ but a note in the margin reads “mess. du port royal über das 2.Cap des 5. B. Mosis”, from which de Sacy’s work can be inferred.⁴⁸ Nor does he identify the “Wahre Knechte” as David and Moses: that is clear only from de Sacy’s commentary and the context of the passage quoted.⁴⁹ The point is still clear: the true servants of God are more attached to God’s love, than to his gifts; they want nothing from the world but are open to God’s providential guidance. This is an ideal Francke seeks to contemporize for his readers. In de Sacy’s Bible commentary, we find that the ‘true servants’ are David and Moses, and as exemplary models they demonstrate spontaneous initiative and prophetic instinct. Francke does not include this in his quotation, but both themes are important to the argument he goes on to present.

2.7 DIRECTING ACTIVE PASSIVITY

To be guided by God’s providence requires compliance and the willingness to enter a state of active passivity. In German this state has its own

⁴⁶ *La Sainte Bible en Latin et en François, avec l’explication du sens littéral & du sens spirituel, tirée des Saints Pères & des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques* 1665–1708.

⁴⁷ The quotation is from the commentary on Deuteronomy. My references are from the online edition from 1719, but the page numbers correspond with those mentioned by Peschke, GA1, p. 57. *Le Deuteronomie traduit en François; avec une Explication du Sens littéral et spirituel. Tirée des Saints Peres, & des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, Paris 1719, p. 25

⁴⁸ Podczek, GA1, p. 57. Francke also alludes positively to the “Messieurs de Port Royal” in his *Erklärung der Psalmen Davids*, Part one, pp. 42–44.

⁴⁹ Francke’s quotation (‘les vrais serviteurs’) is part of a longer sentence, and in de Sacy’s text a ‘parce que’ is placed in front of the ‘les vrais serviteurs’, making it a causal clause. De Sacy, *Explication*, p. 25.

term and grammatical construction: *Gelassenheit*.⁵⁰ Much has been said and written on *Gelassenheit*; on its semasiological development, its mystical theological origin, its entrance into philosophy and literature.⁵¹ I shall focus here on *Gelassenheit* as a state of active passivity, which bridges and is useful to devotional theology and project-making. Ernst Bartz' definition of the word is most instructive in this regard.⁵² He sees a clear link between *Gelassenheit* and other topoi in Francke's texts: providential guidance and mortification, the breaking of the will.⁵³ In order to be directed by God and become a divine instrument, man must be broken, changed and trained. The passive component in *Gelassenheit*, the annihilation of man, is described in different and interchangeable ways as a 'breaking of the will' and a 'compunction of the heart' or self-renunciation.⁵⁴

That *Gelassenheit* comprises providential guidance makes it eminently suitable for business purposes, as was noticed by the former professor of economy at Halle, Gerhard Bondi. He stated that any business advantage was seized and interpreted as 'the finger of God'.⁵⁵

Even in the specific context of Halle Pietism, *Gelassenheit* is broadly used and can be detected and analysed in various contexts. Its ambiguity, being active and passive at the same time, is a strength, and both the premise for and the purpose of devotional engagement. The reborn or acrobatic believer must be in a state of *Gelassenheit* and fight for it. This dynamic is reflected in Francke's reading of true apostolic Christianity outlined in Titus 3:1–7;⁵⁶ in the 'illo splendente levabor' ('by his shining, shall I be lifted up') motto of the Orphanage Press;⁵⁷ in the words from Isaiah 40:31 on the

⁵⁰ I have earlier worked out some of the points on Francke's use of *Gelassenheit* in a jointly written article. Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*, pp. 304–312.

⁵¹ I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article. Mejrups et al., *Case Studies*, pp. 304–305, footnotes 170, 171, 172, 173.

⁵² Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, p. 29–32. "Wichtiger für unser Ziel, das ja immer auf eine Verdeutlichung des Einflusses der religiösen Lehren auf das Handeln des hallischen Pietisten abzielt, ist Franckes Lehre von der Gelassenheit."

⁵³ Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, p. 30

⁵⁴ See examples from the reading of sermons and lectures in part one and three.

⁵⁵ Gerhard Bondi, "Der Beitrag des hallischen Pietismus zur Entwicklung des ökonomischen Denkens in Deutschland", 1964, p. 29: "Bietet sich eine vorteilhafte Möglichkeit, so ist darin der Finger Gottes zu sehen, der durch die Gewährung einer solchen Möglichkeit seinen Segen kundtut. Das hatte natürlich in der Praxis die größte Bedeutung für Geschäfte und Erwerbsmöglichkeiten, die sich dem wiedergeborenen Christen boten."

⁵⁶ See part three and the analysis of the eight and ninth Titus Lectures.

⁵⁷ I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article: Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*), pp. 304–312

Orphanage tympanum;⁵⁸ in funeral sermons and in inaugural speeches.⁵⁹ *Gelassenheit* can be detected in many different contexts, and the point can be made with or without explicit use of the term. I shall attempt now to show how Francke constructs the state of active passivity in GA. It is both a premise for the devotional engagement and the purpose of it. The believer is responsible for being directed, and for directing others.

In order to clarify the order between divine initiative and human support, Francke poses himself a question: when relying entirely on God, why then not leave it to God to take action? (GA1, p. 57). Trusting in the Lord does not do away with man's responsibility, nor his duties. In fact the believer is responsible for drawing attention to and involving others in the divine undertaking.

Es folget aber aus dem, was gesagt worden, das man auff Gott allein sehen, und von ihm allein die Hülffe und Vollendung seines Willens erwarten solle, keines weges, daß man seinem Nechsten nicht dergleichen Vorstellung thun, und ihn nicht dadurch zum Dienst Gottes und des Nechsten erwecken und auffmuntern möge oder solle, und zwar eben so wenig als daraus erzwungen werden könnte, daß man selbst nicht arbeiten soll, dieweil das schiene, als ob man sein Vertrauen nicht auff Gott setzte (GA1, p. 58).

Francke here assigns to man a precise task as an instrument and caretaker of the divine estate. He must present and pass on to others the idea ("dergleichen Vorstellung") about the divine undertaking. Francke elaborates on this collaborative responsibility with Pauline and Petrine verses. Without specifying any particular verse, he alludes to the eighth and ninth chapters in 2 Corinthians, where Paul encourages Corinth to give generously (e.g. 2 Cor 8:7) to the Christians in Jerusalem (e.g. 2 Cor 8:4; 9:1). Paul is not writing this as a command, but as a way of 'testing the genuineness of the Corinthians' love for others' (2 Cor 8:8). To give generously, he argues, "is a question of a fair balance between your present abundance and their need" (2 Cor 8:14). In 2 Cor 9:6 he compares giving with sowing: "The point is this: the one who sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and the one who sows bountifully will also reap bountifully." He thus explains the paradox of earning by giving: "He who supplies seed to the sower and bread for food will supply and multiply your seed for sowing and increase the harvest of your righteousness" (2 Cor 9: 10). These allusions could be said to correspond nicely to Francke's fundraising: his orphanage corresponds to the saints in Jerusalem, the Corinthians correspond to his benefactors. Another point Francke is keen to stress concerns giving and givers. To give generously is one thing, but it is most important to learn how to

⁵⁸ I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article: Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*), pp. 304–312

⁵⁹ I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article: Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*), pp. 304–312

become a giver and a housekeeper of the gift that God has given. This point is made with reference to 1 Peter. Francke writes:

Wie gern wollte ich, daß ein ieglicher dem HErrn dienete mit seiner Gabe, als ein guter Haushalter der empfangenen Gabe nach der 1 Petr. im IV. V. 10 (GA1, p. 58).⁶⁰

This work-sharing: God's gracious gift, and man's role as a steward of that gift, is a trusted position and involves an authority and a responsibility of providing others with ideas as to "... wie er sich als ein Werck Zeug dabey gebrauchen laßen könne...". The following argument builds up from two previous premises: "Vielleicht möchte man", "Es folget aber aus dem" (GA1, pp. 57–58) and now reaches its climax ("Es ist aber vielmehr"). Francke connects his trust in God with confidence in his own competence as a director of others.

Es ist aber vielmehr ein solcher Schluß zu machen: Eben darumb, weil ich zu Gott das Vertrauen habe, daß er sein Werck ausführen werde, so kann ich mit desto getrosterem Muth meinem Nechsten eine Vorstellung thun, wie er sich als ein Werck Zeug dabey gebrauchen laßen könne, und ihn auffmuntern, daß er die Hand frisch mit anlege: gleichwie ich selbst durch solch Vertrauen am allermeisten gestärcket werde im Werck des HErrn getrost fort zu arbeiten, dieweil ich glaube, daß meine Arbeit im HErrn nicht vergeblich seyn wird: Ja eben darumb, weil mir das hertzlich anliegt daß nur der Wille Gottes geschehen möge, welcher ja dieser ist, daß das Reich des Satans in der Welt zerstöret und Gottes Reich angerichtet werde, so erwecket mich dieses Verlangen desto mehr dazu, meinen Nechsten auch aufzumuntern und anzufrischen, daß er itzt bey dieser Zeit reichlich nach allem Vermögen und mit Freuden säete, damit er auch desto reichern Theil an dem Segen Gottes nehmen, und denselben mit desto größern Freuden zu seiner Zeit erndten möge (GA1, p. 58).

To work for the project is here linked to the mission of promoting God's kingdom and resisting Satan's. The implicit development from supporter to divine instrument and housekeeper of God's gift – one with the competence and authority to direct others – instrumentalizes the state of active passivity. The acrobatic believer is obligated to and socially responsible for others. Francke demonstrates this by stating that he would not hesitate to win over the king and queen for his project, since it is a 'king's duty to support God's church' and a 'queen's duty to be its wet-nurse' (GA1, pp. 58–59). Neither would he hesitate to give others a clear idea (Vorstellung) about their role in the divine enterprise. In return, he would not have reservations as to taking the advice of others, as long as it served useful causes.

⁶⁰ The connection between Francke's point and the reference to 1 Peter 4:10 ("Like good stewards of the manifold grace of God, serve one another with whatever gift each of you has received") and "the God of all grace" in 5:10 is clearer in the Greek, where grace and gift are cognate terms χάρισμα / χάρις.

Sehe ich einen weisen Mann, so trage ich kein Bedencken ihn umb guten Rath zu fragen, und ist mir ein guter Rath offft so nützlich als vieles Geld und Gut. Finde ich einen, der in der Welt vieles gesehen und erfahren, so suche ich mir seine Erfahrung zu nutz zu machen. Treffe ich einen Prediger oder Schulmann an, so ermuntere ich sie auff alle Weyse, zur Förderung des Wercks des HErrn mit beyzutreten. So es nun bey diesen allen billich ist, ihnen eine Vorstellung zuthun, wie ein ieder in seinem Theil der Gelegenheit wahrnehmen möge, Gottes Ehre zu befördern, warumb sollte ich denn Bedencken tragen, nicht auch diejenigen, so Gott mit zeitlichem Vermögen gesegnet, im Namen Gottes anzureden, und ihnen vorzustellen, wie sie die zeitlichen Güter zu Gottes wahrer Ehre anwenden und also gebrauchen können, daß sie nicht allein einen wahrhafftigen Nutzen für andere damit schaffen, sondern auch für sich selbst einen beständigen Segen davon erwarten mögen? (GA1, p. 59)

The ideal set forth in this passage is that everyone can and must be directed.⁶¹ The statement is a good example of worldly negotiations and the combination of prophetic authority, social engagement and devotional project-making. Francke is both willing to ask for advice (“umb guten Rath zu fragen”) and to give others a clear idea of their role in God’s work. The competence of directing others also involves directing those of worldly fortune, which is the argument Francke goes on to elaborate.

2.8 DIVINE LAUNDERING OF CAPITAL

Francke emphatically assures his readers that his work is not a “Menschen Werck” relying on human support. It relies on God, and only secondarily on mortal assistance. The theme of worldly negotiations reaches a climax in what follows, as Francke outlines his business plans. The theme is directly linked to GA3, which is even more elaborate and explicit about capital loans and commercial initiative. Both sections were omitted in the later manuscripts,⁶² raising the question that Francke was perhaps too bold in wanting to combine commerce and trading with devotional reform.⁶³

The reform project in Halle relies on God, not man. In the same way that Francke would take the advice of knowledgeable men, since “ist mir ein guter Rath offft so nützlich als vieles Geld und Gut” (GA1, p. 59), he would not exclude the advice of those experienced in business, nor the financial support of those of worldly fortune. God can turn cash into blessings, and he may grant wealth as a gift.

der Segen Gottes lieget nicht im Reichthum, sondern darinn, wenn der Reichthum als eine Gabe Gottes nach dem Willen Gottes und zum rechten Zweck angewendet, und er also von Gott gesegnet wird (GA1, p. 60)

⁶¹ See the sections on hodegetics in my analysis of GA2, where I take up the theme of giving directions.

⁶² GA1 p. 61 line 31 – p. 63 line 16 and GA3 p. 160 line 17 – p. 163 line 11.

⁶³ See my discussion in part two, chapter four

Assisting God's work is not a matter of the gift, but the giver. If he gives in the right spirit, that is out of love to God and man, his donation will undoubtedly blend in and become a part of God's blessing. Furthermore, when the affluent benefactor becomes a sincere giver, he joins forces and becomes one of the true believers collaborating in Halle. Francke here makes a remarkable argumentative turn, which reverses the roles: it is actually not the affluent benefactor who gives anything to Francke's project; it is Francke who (in a Pauline way) gives the wealthy supporters the understanding of what it takes to give. I quote the full sentence, and in particular the parenthesis is important for the argument:

So setze ich auch in der Wahrheit bey dem vorgeschlagenen Handel die Förderung des Wercks, so Gott hier angefangen, nicht in dem Mammon, sondern vielmehr darinnen, daß wie bishero die Vereinigung weniger Menschen zur Ehre Gottes und zum Dienst des Nechsten so herrlich von Gott gesegnet worden, also im geringsten kein Zweifel seyn kan, daß, wenn sich Leute, die Gott mit zeitlichem Vermögen gesegnet, auch dergestalt vereinigen, nachdem ihnen die Sache recht bekandt gemacht worden (als wovon Sie ohne einer gründlichen Vorstellung keinen rechten Begriff haben könnten) und Gott zu Ehren ihr Hertz und Sinn dahin richten, mit denen äußerlichen Mitteln die ihnen Gott verliehen, das Werck zu secundiren, so werde Gott einen solchen guten Zweck und Vereinigung der Hertzen zu seines heiligen Namens Ehre desto kräftiger und herrlicher segnen (GA1, p. 61).

The work is not promoted by wealth, but the proper use of wealth; not cash, but the congregation of people whom God has already blessed. This congregation is important and it apparently needs a clarifying gloss. The wealthy supporters must be made aware of what the reform project is about, because without a clear "Vorstellung", they have no "Begriff." Without an informed idea of the project, their donations are without full effect, nor do they as givers become a part of the "Vereinigung", which God has selected and designed. It is therefore Francke who gives his affluent readers a chance to understand, and to become true donors and 'reborn' co-workers. Francke's worldly negotiations here reach a climax, and we see what he offers the world in return for the good advice, namely "einer gründlichen Vorstellung" and a "rechten Begriff" of the design of his reform project. Indeed, when the acrobatic believers in Halle join hands with worldly supporters, the work becomes the more prosperous.

Having established this link between outside supporters and inside acrobatic believers, Francke sees no reason why he not should go further. Why not take the advice of those engaged in commerce? And he continues, "So finde ich auch keine Ursache, warumb ich von dem vorgeschlagenen Handel ins große keinen Segen zu Beförderung der Ehre Gottes erwarten sollte?" (GA1, p. 61). He would not run the business himself, but entrust it to others who have the skill and competence. He remains loyal to his obligations to his "Amt und Beruff", he assures us (GA1, p. 62). But the business

plans are tempting, why not benefit from the exceptional advantages, the goodwill of merchants in important places and God's open doors into business and trade?

Und warumb hat Gott die Thüren dazu auffgethan, daß man einen so wichtigen Vorschlag nun mit leichter Mühe exequiren kan, als tausend andere nicht würden thun können? Warumb hat er so viel Vortheile an die Hand gegeben, z. E. in den Hertzen vornehmer Handelsleute an den wichtigsten Örtern, eine solche Liebe zu dem Werck erwecket, daß man sich zu manchen ihres treuen Rathes und Hülffe in der Sache nicht allein versehen darff, sondern auch schon in der That erfahren hat (GA1, p. 61).

Francke takes up the theme in GA3, and I shall pursue it further in that section.

2.9 THE GOOD SOIL OF HALLE

In a characteristic way Francke validates his work by emphasizing Halle as a prosperous place. The reform project is locally situated, but orientated and aiming at universality. The "Universal-Werck," as he calls it, will benefit thousands of people both in regard to salvation, piety and physical welfare (Heyl, Seligkeit, leiblichen Nutzens) (GA1, p. 63). Francke mentions the advantages of his work, for instance how stipends in Halle are more useful than in any other place, since they provide nutrition for both stomach and soul (GA1, p. 64). He also draws attention to the importance of the collaborators, who guarantee the high quality of the administration of the work (GA1, p. 64). The project is thus presented as a concrete object and a collaboration between God, Francke, the administrators and the affluent supporters.

Pre-empting the question, what if the work falls into the hands of bad directors? Francke reasons that this is highly doubtful, since his project is different from others. The benefit of his work is already present, and it will only augment in the nearest future. All invested capital will therefore turn out profitable.

Denn der Nutzen ist hier gleich gegenwärtig und in den allernehesten Jahren von so großer importantz, daß alle Capitalia, wenn sie noch so groß wären, sich gar balde damit reichlich und überflüßig bezahleten (GA1, p. 65).

The question 'why Halle of all places?' is turned around: why not invest in the prosperous soil of Halle, since the fruits of the work are already there to see?

Da nun hieselbst ein solcher Acker angewiesen wird, welcher itzo schon seine hundertfältigen Früchte trägt, und, wenn er noch beßer in acht genommen und gebauet wird, wol tausendfältige Früchte bringen wird; warumb wollte man nicht seinen Saamen lieber an einen solchen Acker wenden, als an einen andern, deßen Früchte man noch nicht gesehen, ja da es mißlich ist, ob er werde so umbgearbeitet werden, daß der felsichte Grund, und die mit auffgehende Disteln

und Dornen nicht alle Frucht oder doch die allermeiste ersticken und verhindern (GA1, p. 66).

Francke here deploys a metaphorical language of sowing. The field and the act of sowing evoke biblical allusion, but there is no mention of the sower nor any explicit Bible reference. Since Francke distinguishes good soil from a field of thorns and thistles, he might be alluding to the parable to the sower in the Gospel of Mark 4:3–9 and 4:14–20. The “itzo schon seine hundertfältigen Früchte trägt” might even reflect the good soil “increasing and yielding thirty and sixty and a hundredfold” (Mark 4:8). If this is the case, the variation of the biblical parable is done with a Pauline touch. In the parable of the sower, the focus is not on the good soil, but on spreading the Gospel and the hardships of such a mission. Of the different places the seed is spread in the gospel account, only one out of four is prosperous. In Paul’s letter to Corinthians, to which Francke earlier referred, prosperity in sowing is emphasized (2 Cor 9:10): “He who supplies seed to the sower and bread for food will supply and multiply your seed for sowing and increase the harvest of your righteousness”. Here mention of the field is omitted, however. Francke’s sowing image is either not biblically supported or, perhaps, merges different images from Scripture. The good soil is the reform project at Halle, the thorny ground is projects elsewhere. Francke’s question: “warumb wollte man nicht seinen Saamen lieber an einen solchen Acker wenden?” is directed at the readers and benefactors. There is no sower here, but the sowing indirectly refers to the collaboration between Francke, his loyal co-directors and the affluent subscribers. He thus invites his reader to join forces and become the sower.

He remembers a famous university with righteous and gifted professors and ministers, but which had no students. This, to him, is an example “daß sich menschlicher Weyse nichts erzwingen laße, sondern man müße acht haben, wohin der Segen Gottes lencke, und solche Spur nachgehen, wenn man des göttlichen Segens mit theilhaftig werden wolle” (GA1, 67). To do it the right way requires devout administrators and presupposes that the investors understand the concept.

The sower, although absent in the quotation above, is one of the most prominent motifs figuring on items issuing from the orphanage industry. He appears in the emblem used on the impresa for the Orphanage Printing House.⁶⁴ The emblem often varies in design, but always features a sower in a pastoral landscape with eagles soaring towards the sun and the Latin inscription: *Illo splendente levabor* – ‘by his shining, shall I be lifted up.’⁶⁵ It

⁶⁴ I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article: Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*), pp. 307–309.

⁶⁵ I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article: Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*), pp. 307–308.

is not clear whether the “I” in the verb ‘levabor’ refers to the eagle, the sun or the sower, but this is less important, when it is read together with ‘illo splendente’, which could be interpreted instrumentally emphasizing divine enablement of human collaboration.⁶⁶

Francke invites his readers to invest. He offers a respectable and utilitarian enterprise cultivated in rich and fertile soil, and he gives several examples to prove its worth. Indeed, investments in Halle are relatively more secure than elsewhere (“sondern es vielmehr in größerer Sicherheit hat, als anderswo” p. 67). Yet he cannot assure the investments completely, since the Bible obliges him not to put his trust in “*ungewißen Reichthum*” – which alludes to 1 Tim 6:17, “As for those who in the present age are rich, command them not to be haughty, or to set their hopes on the uncertainty of riches, but rather on God who richly provides us with everything for our enjoyment.”

This then is my analysis of the main themes outlined in the first part of the *Grosse Aufsatz*. GA1 has the function of an exordium, and the following parts take up the threads and themes introduced here.

⁶⁶ I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article: Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*), pp. 308–309.

GA2

3.1 GA PART TWO

The reform in Halle was consequently occupied with the training and schooling of preceptors rather than princes. Like the early reform movements in the 17th century, German pietism strove to renew society through devotional reform of theology.¹ One of the distinctive features of the project at Halle was a focal shift in educational interests. The target of Christian rearing changed from prince to preceptor. The reform was no longer expected to proceed from the *Regierstand* or be spearheaded by the worldly ruler. Instead reform was taught, nurtured and cultivated in and for and from the *Lehrstand*. A good example of this is to be found in Francke's *Timotheus zum Fürbilde allen Theologiae Studiosis dargestellt* (1695). Instead of a *Fürstenspiegel*, he presented a *Studentenspiegel* with instructions on how students should study, behave and train to become like Timothy and Titus, the perfect biblical role models for Christian teaching and lifestyle.² The reform developed a new, and expanded the old, ecclesiastical space. The project was not located in one church, but involved several devotional sites spread out over a pastoral landscape with its main centres on the university campus and on the orphanage premises. This topographical spread is central to understanding Halle Pietism and its professionalization of pastoral care. To the programmatic statement that Halle Pietism is about 'changing the world by changing man'³, we should add, that the change of man was realized by a strenuous effort to make subjects fitted for pastoral duties. The shift from *Regierstand* to *Lehrstand* is an important context for the understanding of Francke's reform programme, and why the *Lehrstand* is allotted more attention than the *Regierstand* in *Grosse Aufsatz*.

The development from GA1 to GA2 follows the structure used by Francke in his sermons. The first part, presenting the main themes, is followed by a careful treatment of detail. The transition from the first to the second part is thus a move from the general to the specific, from the abstract to the concrete. The second section comprises five chapters with various subsections:

Title:	Openhearted and sincere news of the inner nature and importance of the work of the Lord at Halle, in the duchy of Magdeburg, both in its present state and in expectation of God's future blessing
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¹ Matthias, *Orthodoxy*, p. 21.

² See part three.

³ "Weltveränderung durch Menschenveränderung" was coined by the church historian Martin Schmidt. *Wiedergeburt und neuer Mensch* 2, p. 69.

Chapter 1:	The status of present day corruption, not only among pagans and other people but among the Christian people
Chapter 2:	God has opened a door to improve the present day corruption by means of the University in Halle and the <i>Foundations</i>
Chapter 3:	The use and benefit of the University and the <i>Foundations</i> designed to rear the youth and provide for the poor
Chapter 4:	On the imperfection and deficiency of the University and the <i>Foundations</i>
Chapter 5:	On amplifying God's work in Halle

The first chapter describes the extent of corruption in society, the second the antidote in the shape of the university and the orphanage organization. The third chapter portrays the benefits of the tandem institutions, the fourth chapter their shortcomings and flaws. The fifth chapter gives advice on how to extend the work. My analysis follows this progression, not strictly, but with regard to the order in which the *topoi* are presented.

3.2 DISCOURSES OF REFORM

In *Grosse Aufsatz*, Francke makes use of the distinction of three estates, teaching, governing, and domestic (*Lehrstand*, *Regierstand*, *Hausestand*), when referring to the well-known order of society. These estates are not as fixed or predetermined as they might appear, but are open to modification and change.⁴ Ulrich Barth has observed that Spener and Francke preserved the “Drei-Stände-Ordnung” and that their reform programmes implied a reduction of the “Standesunterschiede auf religiösem Gebiet”.⁵ The religious and the worldly domains are evidently intertwined, but nevertheless discernible. On the one hand, Francke flattens social status and vocation by reminding the Christian believers of God's curse in Gen 3, and how the only appropriate reaction to this is respect for God and social responsibility towards others.⁶ On the other hand, he uses the discourse of three estates to conceptualize a recognizable notion of society. These two aspects are not contradictory but pertain to the believers' life in the world but not of the world. The discourse, which smoothes social differences, clearly has socie-

⁴ Hinrichs, *Preußentum*, pp. 178–179, asserts, with little care for precision, that Pietism used the “altlutherischen Dreiständelehre” to unite and abnegate the differences between all estates. He does not mention that the flattening of societal differences was not uniformly handled in Pietism, nor that there is no consensus as to whether pietistic egalitarianism is limited to the religious domain or reaches beyond.

⁵ Ulrich Barth, *Aufgeklärter Protestantismus*, 2004, p. 164.

⁶ See part one and the analysis of Francke's sermon “Pflicht gegen den Armen”.

tal implications. Francke, as we shall see, expects a sequential impact beginning with the *Lehrstand* and proceeding to the others. I shall refrain from discussing the broader context of the Lutheran doctrine of the three estates⁷ and simply focus on how Francke employs them in his reform project as a ‘dominant discourse’ – a discourse for what is presupposed and need not be made explicit.⁸ The notion of three estates is firmly internalized, it is pliable and remains semantically stable. Francke develops his ideas on reform in this vibrant societal framework. He presupposes a certain social order and modifies it through discourses of reform. We shall see several examples of this approach below, but I shall begin by pointing to one of the most pertinent social modifications. The increasingly popular stipend systems for university students at Halle had an impact on the *Lehrstand* and its new members. Furthermore, it led to a reduction of “Standesunterschiede” not only in the religious domain but indeed within education.

Cloister-turned-refectory

The American professor of history Anthony La Vopa has investigated the role of refectories and free tables at German universities after the Reformation.⁹ He argues that the university refectory replaces the monastery and thus has a monastic function: “The cloister-turned-refectory is an appropriate landmark for the rise of a new clerical order in Protestant Germany and for the new and adapted forms of charity that created the order and replenished it from one generation to the next”.¹⁰ La Vopa explains how the free tables were efficient vehicles of charity, and how obtaining a seat was crucial to the student as well as his family,¹¹ since poverty was not a matter of being deprived of books, coffee and sugar, but suffering from a

⁷ For more on the “altlutherischen Dreiständelehre” see the forthcoming dissertation by Mattias Skat Sommer, Aarhus University, and/or the second chapter in Walter Behrendt’s dissertation: *Lehr-, Wehr- und Nährstand Haustafelliteratur und Dreiständelehre im 16. Jahrhundert*. One of Behrendt’s arguments is that the *Dreiständelehre* is rooted in and draws from the broad genre of *Haustafel* literature; a genre which offers a “Gesamtbild” of society. Behrendt, *Haustafel*, p. 8.

⁸ Albeit in a completely different context, Carol Newsome defines the notion of ‘dominant discourse’. “In any society one can speak of a dominant discourse. Although elusive, it can be described either from the bottom or from the top, so to speak.” The paradox about this kind of discourse is that it is “identified as precisely what goes without saying. It is what everybody knows, what does not have to be specified, what is thoroughly internalized, so that it is produced and reproduced without much fanfare.” *The self as symbolic space*, 2004, p. 17.

⁹ Anthony J. La Vopa: *Grace, Talent, and Merit*, 2002.

¹⁰ Vopa, *Talent*, p. 19

¹¹ Vopa, *Talent*, p. 25

scarcity of necessities: clothes, firewood and money for medical expenses.¹² In regard to the reform at Halle, La Vopa remarks that it is characterized by “the scale of its generosity”.¹³ He continues:

With this tidy arrangement Francke was able to support a very substantial number of students *and* provide cheap but at least minimally competent labor for his schools. As the applicants increased, other kinds of work were found, especially recording lectures and sermons for future publication. Taking into account Francke’s innovation, the royal tables, and three others supported by the provincial estates, the total number of Halle students using the free tables was nearly 500 by 1711 and had surpassed 600 by 1720 (Vopa, *Talent*, p. 39).¹⁴

The “tidy arrangement” refers to the free table stipend system, which replaced pecuniary with alimentary payment. La Vopa draws attention to how the reform of the free tables entailed new forms of patronage: “sponsored induction”¹⁵, and “academic mobility”.¹⁶ The number of theology students increased to a degree which made the university at Halle the most frequented in Germany, and the free table stipend system was an important part of the development.¹⁷ As La Vopa shows, the system was instrumental in the development of new forms of patronage, academic mobility and the emergence of a new class. The changes in the student body generated new challenges in regard to student behaviour and lifestyle; challenges which the universities had a pastoral responsibility to solve.¹⁸ At Halle, Francke’s paraenetical and Anton’s pastoral lectures were engaging problems related to the lifestyle of students. The way the free tables were organized also

¹² Vopa, *Talent*, p. 27

¹³ Vopa, *Talent*, p. 38

¹⁴ I shall return to the free tables later in this section.

¹⁵ Vopa, *Talent*, p. 139: “Under the circumstances typified by Frankfurt and Halle, sponsored induction meant a dispersed, highly individualized exercise of patronage. It allowed clergymen (including teachers) a critical role, but was not under the direct and exclusive control of a clerical establishment.”

¹⁶ Vopa, *Talent*, p. 140

¹⁷ Vopa, *Talent*, p. 145: “While Francke was laying his plans for universal improvement, he was also seizing the more immediate opportunity to build a model theology faculty at Halle. Hardly more than a token presence in the early years, theology students contributed 41.8 percent of the university’s average annual matriculations in 1721-30; they had become more numerous at Halle than at any other German university. What had allowed this unprecedented concentration was Francke’s ‘free tables’ for student-tutors and a variety of other charitable arrangements.”

¹⁸ Vopa, *Talent*, p. 147

shows that student counselling went hand in hand with increasing control and surveillance.¹⁹

Deluge of godly knowledge

The first chapter of GA2 begins with a description of a degree of social neglect, which is a burden to believers and non-believers: “Von dem verderbten Zustande, in welchem nicht allein die Heydnische und andere Völcker, sondern auch das so genannte Christen-Volck sich biß auff den heutigen Tag befindet” (GA2, p. 70). Francke quotes the words of an anonymous writer, who laments over the worldly authorities.

Das Verderben des Regier-Standes, hat ein gewiſſer Scribent mit kurtzen Worten also beschrieben: Im Weltl. Stande hat der Teuffel sein Reich, Regiment und Regierung unter den Königen, Fürsten und HERren und aller Obrigkeit, da bey ihnen nichts den eitel Greuel sind, Müßiggang, Freßen, Sauffen, Spielen, jagen, Kriegen, Huren, Schinden und Schaben, Aussaugen und eitel Teuffeley, da nichts als eitel Adler, Löwen, Pardel, Bären und allerley grausame Thier und unreine Vögel sind, und ihre Räthe, Beamte und Diener eitel Füchse, Hund und Wölffe, die auff den Armen lauren, und der Egel Gesellen seyn, die da spricht: bring her, bring her: und also bezeichnet sie auch die heilige Schrifft und ihre eigene Schild und Wappen (GA2, p. 71).

This description of moral decay was a commonplace in the so-called “Anklageliteratur”, a prolific genre in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.²⁰ The comparison of the authorities with wild animals, supposedly a reference to the heraldic beasts of the nobility, was a topos in this context.²¹ Although such complaints were common, they were nevertheless controversial. In fact the above-quoted lines were omitted in the 1709 B-version of GA.²² Podczek suggests that it might have been due to the “Härte in der Ausdrucksweise”, and that Francke’s frowns were primarily aimed at the *Lehrstand* and not the *Regierstand*.²³ Francke’s own jeremi-

¹⁹ See for instance the description of the grand dinning hall instigated in 1711. Francke, *Zubereiteter Tisch*, 1717, pp. 19–20: “Am Ende des Saals / wo er an eine Dele des Vordergebäudes stösset / sind zwei Fenster / durch welche die Fremden / so das Wäysenhaus besehen / auch dem Speisen dieser aus der Hand GOTTes lebenden Anzahl Menschen zuzuschauen pflegen / und durch diesen Anblick gemeiniglich am meisten afficiert werden”.

²⁰ See Hinrichs. *Preußentum*, p. 2ff. Hans Leube: *Die Reformideen in der deutschen lutherischen Kirche zur Zeit der Orthodoxie*, 1924, pp. 46–45; pp. 140 ff. Hans Leube: *Orthodoxie und Pietismus*, AGPI3, pp. 68–74. Jonathan Strom: *Orthodoxy and Reform: The Clergy in Seventeenth Century Rostock*, p. 10.

²¹ See Joachim Lütke mann: *Regenten Predigt 1655*. Hinrichs, *Preßentum*, p. 179. See also Behrendt’s index of symbolic animals. *Haustafel*, pp. 381–382

²² GA2, p. 71 line 9 – p. 72, line 7. Podczek GA, pp. 21–22.

²³ Podczek, GA pp. 21–22.

ads, voiced without quotation, generally concern all three estates, and especially the *Lehrstand*.²⁴

Francke imitates the ‘genre of complaints’ and introduces the theme of corruption with reference to Gen 6:12, the prologue to the flooding of the world (“And God saw that the earth was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted its ways upon the earth”). He compares the evil conditions of his day to the deluge, the only difference being that contemporary sin augments original sin. The decay of the present day thus looms large.

Es wird aber von dem jenigen Verfall und Verderben geredet, davon die Schrift saget, wenn sie spricht von der ersten Welt 1. B. Mosis VI, 12 [...] Demnach ist nicht die Erbsünde damit gemeynet, die auch den Frommen anlebet, sondern die herrschende Sünde und Boßheit, wie sich dieselbe überall und in allen Ständen ausgebreitet hat, und eine Ursache ist alles übrigen Verderbens, Elendes und Jammers in der Welt gleich wie um deßwillen die erste Welt durch die Sündflut verderbet ward (GA2, pp. 70–71).

The first world was flooded, and this one is on the brink of suffering the same fate. Francke sounds the alarm, but instead of panicking, he believes that corruption can be overcome. The reform, which aims to save the world from the threatening deluge, is described twice in GA homoeopathically as a flood of living water of godly knowledge (“Erkenntniß des HErrn”). Water thus signifies the threatening waters of the deluge and its antidote, the living water of the reform.

Denn das ist es, was man von Herten wünschet, suchet und verlanget, und darumb man ringet mit demüthigen Gebeth und Flehen vor Gott, daß er dasjenige Werck hieselbst, welches er mit seinem Segen, so geschmücket, daß von gantz Teutschland und auch von weit entlegenen Orten die Menschen darauff gerichtet sind, nicht allein erhalten und gnädiglich beschützen, sondern auch als sein Werck herrlich aufführen wolle, damit zu einer allgemeinen Verbeßerung in allen Ständen nicht allein in Teutschland und in Europa, sondern auch in den übrigen Theilen der Welt alle gehörige Zubereitung gemacht und in kurtzer Zeit die gantze Erde mit Erkenntniß des HErrn als mit einem Strom lebendiger Waßer bedeckt werde (GA2, p. 154).

The idea of fighting water with water is a classic biblical topos. A key passage is 1 Pet 3:20–2, where Noah’s ark figures as a typology for baptism. The baptismal act, *through* water, saves the believer *from* the destructive waters of sin. Informative for the way Francke uses the topos is his specification of the water of the counter-deluge as ‘godly knowledge’. The reform counters corruption with that knowledge, produced at the university in Halle and designed so as to spread out and encompass all territories and social spheres.²⁵

²⁴ This is reflected for instance in the augmented copies of the B- and C- manuscripts on pp. 79–80.

²⁵ The same expression occurs at the end of the Titus Lectures. See part three.

A choir of complaining voices

Despite the wealth of corruption, God has preserved and planted seeds in all estates of society; even if the *Lehrstand* is full of false prophets and insincere teachers, God has a special plan for it. Francke presents the *Lehrstand* as a threefold voice against corruption. One voice belongs to Francke's more or less contemporary devotional peers; another to Jesus and the third to Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153). The full choir thus comprises Protestant devotional theology, the Bible and Catholic monasticism.²⁶ Francke presents the first voice by reminding his readers that others before him have complained of corruption in society.

Über diesen verderbten Zustande in alle dreyen Ständen haben vorlängst verständige Leute, sowol Politici als Theologi geklaget und auch die itzigen schweren Gerichte Gottes sind nichts anders als Zeugen des durch solch greulich verderbtes Wesen sehr erzürneten Gottes. Welche Gerichte denn auch von denenjenigen, so der Welt ihr Verderben vorgestellt, deutlich vorher verkündigt sind (GA2, p. 72).

A note is added to the text explaining who the “verständige Leute” are and giving a few titles of their work:

- Johann Arndt
- Theophilus Großgebauer (*Wächterstimme aus dem verwüsteten Zion*)
- Philipp Jakob Spener (*Pia Desideria, Theologischen Bedencken*)
- Ludwig von Seckendorff (*Christenstaat*)
- Ahasver Fritsch (*Aulicus peccans, Scholaris peccans, praeceptor peccans*)
- Joachim Betke (*Excidium Germaniae*)
- Johann Valentin Andreae (*Christianopolis*)
- Jean-Frédéric Ostervald, (*Traité des sources de la corruption*)

All of these are important and famous Protestant theologians with an inclination to devotional reform. The only non-German is Jean-Frédéric Ostervald (1663–1747), a Swiss reform theologian and like Francke a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). Particularly formative for Francke were Arndt and Spener.

The next voice, that of Jesus, is introduced by a number of scripture verses, which form a message that Francke elaborates in his text. He makes Christ the model for the struggle against moral neglect in society, and cites the commission to the apostles in Mt 10. In Mt 9:38 Jesus has compared the distressed and helpless crowd to a flock of sheep without a shepherd; and the disciples to harvesting labourers. Francke brings the reference to

²⁶ Such a combination is not uncommon: see part one.

Mt 9 and 10 into play with a heap of other references in a blend of paraphrase and biblical montage.

Darum da unserm Heylande das Verderben des jüdischen Volcks für Augen kam, sahe Er sie an wie Schaffe, die keinen Hirten hatten und da er ihnen von ihrem Verderben gerne wollte geholfen wißen, befahl Er seinen Jüngern, nur den HErrn der Erndte zu bitten, daß er Arbeiter in seine Ernde sende (Mt 9:36.38). Welches Er auch sofort mit seinem Exempel bestätigt, und damals nicht allein bloß seine Jünger unter das arme, unwißende Volck ausgesendet hat (Mt 10), sondern auch insgesamt nur bloß seine Propheten, Weisen und Schrifftgelahrten, Apostel, Hirten und Lehrer durch seinen Geist gelehret, gelehret [sic], geheiligt und gesandt hat, da er seinen Geistlichen Leib erbauen und die Menschen beyde klein und große von der Finsterniß zu dem Liechte, von der Gewalt des Satans zu Gott, und seiner ewigen Herrlichkeit beruffen und bekehren wollen (Mt 23:34.37; Eph 4:11.12; Acts 20: 21; 26:17.18.22) (GA2, pp. 73–74).

Francke ties the *Lehrstand* to a range of scriptural verses, biblical designers and the spiritual warfare against satanic powers. The contours of the *Lehrstand* are thus nebulously defined; they are placed in a biblical setting and charged with the mission of being the salt of the earth.²⁷ Francke recurrently takes up the Bible in order to generate a charged and dramatic atmosphere. As in the present case, the heightened atmosphere is followed by a moral and comforting call for action, which smoothes the apocalyptic intensity. Moreover the mission of the apostles is a pastoral topos, not only because of the applied metaphor, Christ the shepherd gathering his sheep, but also because of Christ's instruction to them.²⁸

The third voice is introduced by a saying ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux addressed to his former novice, who had become pope Eugenius III.²⁹

Darum auch Bernhardus, als er zu seiner Zeit sahe, wie is in allen Ständen so verderbet war, an den Pabst Eugenium schrieb, Er solte nur bessere Hirten geben, so würden auch die Schaffe besser seyn (GA2, p. 74).

The reference to Bernard is a way of introducing a topos rather than engaging a particular Bernardine doctrine. The point is simply that 'better shepherds will better society', a claim which fits the tenor of Francke's re-

²⁷ GA2, p. 75: "Nur wenn eine Besserung gesucht werden soll, muß sie nach der jetzt angezogenen Anweisung Christi und seines Apostels vom Lehr-Stande angefangen werden, als welcher das Salz der Erden seyn muß (Mt 10:13 [5:13!])."

²⁸ Paul Anton says of Mt 9-10 that it is "lauter *Progymnasmata* zum Ministerio" and worth more than countless volumes of pastoral instruction. See part three.

²⁹ Bernard wrote and dedicated his 'Pabstspiegel' *De consideratione* to pope Eugenius III. The quotation may refer to this work, but it cannot be verified, as Peschke has pointed out. Peschke, *Auswahl*, p. 108, note 2.

form project. The same reference occurs elsewhere,³⁰ and Podczeck suggests that Francke could have known it from Christian Hoburg.³¹

With this threefold choir, Francke places himself in a devotional theological context with a mind to reform and praxis. By evoking various voices of complaint and reform, he stages, authorizes and personalizes his work.

3.3 SEEDLING NURSERIES AND MUD HOLES OF INDECENCY

From the voices of the *Lehrstand*, Francke turns to his reform project at Halle. This is the place where the pastoral apprentices are trained and educated. It is also the place where the roots of corruption are detected and weeded out (GA2, pp. 75-84). Francke describes untamed youth as a result of bad upbringing in private households.

Eine solche Quelle ist die böse Aufferziehung der Jugend.³² Denn damit ist es soweit kommen, daß fast niemand mehr weiß, was zu einer recht Christlichen und gemeinen Wesen nützlichen Aufferziehung gehöre. Daher die Jugend insgemein rohe, wüst und wilde, und ohne alle wahre Erkänntniß und Furcht Gottes, ohne Zucht und Ermahnung des HErrn aufwachset (GA2, p. 76).³³

Professional rearing in schools and at universities is to compensate for the neglect in home schooling. Yet too often universities are nothing but ‘mud holes of indecency’ (GA2, p. 77), and a reform is therefore pressing. Francke refers to universities as “Pflantz-Gärten” and “Baum-Schulen Gottes, wodurch alles gebauet, gebeßert und fruchtbar gemacht würde.” (GA2, p. 77). It is from here that reform is expected, as long as the institutions are selflessly administered and professors pay attention to formation and not just lecturing. It would be most relevant if professors took an interest in the condition of their students’ souls and how they planned their studies.

Wenn [!] hat man wol auff Universitaeten gefragt, wie es um seine Seele, um sein Christenthum stehe? Und ob er auch Sorge trage so zu studiren, daß die Welt dadurch gebeßert und nicht noch mehr verderbet werde? (GA2, p. 78).

³⁰ Wallmann, *Clairvaux*, p. 97, mentions that the allusion occurs thrice in Francke’s texts: once in a sermon of 1699 – cf. Peschke, *PI*, p. 535 – then in *Seminarium Universalis* 1701 – cf. Peschke, *Auswahl*, p. 108 – and finally here in GA.

³¹ Hoburg quotes the saying ascribed to Bernard in *Spiegel der Misbräuche bey dem Predig-Ampt in heutigen Christenthumb* (1644). Podczeck, GA2, p. 74.

³² GA2, p. 75: “Eine solche Quelle” refers to a previously mentioned passage: “Man muß aber den Grund und die Quelle des Verderbens noch weiter nach suchen, und dar-auff bedacht seyn, daß dieselbige verstopfet und ausgetrocknet werden möge ...”

³³ The later B- and C- manuscripts are more elaborate than the A-version. They develop ‘the wrong method of teaching’, “äußerliche Wißen”, “Eitelkeit und Weltförmigkeit”; ‘wealthy parents who have their children taught useless skills at home “unter dem Namen galanter Studien”’. GA2, p. 76.

The idea of the university's responsibility for forming, directing and advising students was used as a trade mark for the university in Halle. Francke's university colleague, Paul Anton, referred to this endeavour as 'pastoral care'. We will see in part three how the Pastoral Letters were instrumental in conceptualizing the long-term solution that would impede corruption.

In an elaborate jeremiad, Francke bemoans the uselessness of reform, if the root of corruption is not grubbed out. His reform offers a thorough treatment. We shall have a look at a particularly rich sentence, in which an abundance of flaws are mentioned, and the educational institutions compared to wild forest and mankind to misled cattle. The sentence begins with sub clauses, the argument in the main clause being 'no wonder corruption prevails, since man is no better than strayed cattle.'

Da nun die Menschen wie das wilde Vieh in der Irre gegangen, die Jugend nicht in der Zucht und Vermahnung zum HErrn aufgezogen worden, hohe und niedrige Schulen als ein Wilder Wald mit dem Unkraut aller Mißbräuche und Unordnungen immer fortgewachsen, die armen und Elenden an Leib und Seele verwahrloset, denen Reichen noch dazu zu aller Verführung und Bößheit Thür und Thor auffgethan, insonderheit aber die Ämbter des Regier- und Lehr- Standes nicht mit solchen Leuten besetzt, die Gottes Ehre und des Nächsten Nutzen aufrichtig zum Zweck hätten, aber wohl unzählige Gottlose, Untreue, Eigennütziger Ungeschickte, Faule und wollüstige Arbeiter um den Lohn zu Kirch- und Schul-Ämbtern gedungen worden: In summa da man alles so gehen lassen wie es gegangen, hat man darnach noch wohl dazu gemeynet, wie herrlich die Gerechtigkeit gehandhabet werde, wenn man die Diebe nach Urtheil und Recht auffhienge, die Mörder enthauptete, die Straßen-Räuber auff's Rath legete, die Hexen verbrennete, andere aber, denen ein gelinder Urtheil gesprochen worden, des Landes verwies, auspeitschete, und der andern Obrigkeit ins Land jagte; und hat wol nicht einmal daran gedacht, daß man verbunden sey, die Sache im Grunde anzugreifen und die Quelle aus welcher solche greuliche Thaten herfür kommen, zuverstopffen, nemlich, die Jugend recht zu erziehen, die Armen an Leib und Seel recht zu versorgen, Kirchen Schulen und ins gemein alle Ämbter mit tüchtigen Leuten sorgfältig zu versehen, das Volck vom Müßiggang und Schwelgen, (deßen Verstattung auch eine Hauptquelle des Verderbens ist) abzugewehnen und zu nützlicher Arbeit anzuhalten und auff diese und andere Weyse die Menschen in einen solchen Zustand zu setzen, daß man dergleichen Übelthaten und excesse von ihnen nicht leicht zu befahren haben möchte, welche bey der Verwahrlosung so vieler tausendmal tausend Menschen nicht anders als häufig an allen Orten sich hervor thun können. Wie es denn kein Wunder, daß das verderben in allen Ständen so groß ist, wenn man alle Quellen des Abgrundes, daraus es hervor strömet immer gantz ungehindert quellen läßt (GA2, pp. 81-82, emphasis added).

Both the political and the educational authorities (*Regierstand*, *Lehrstand*) are mentioned here. One of the main problems is caused by an administration staffed by bad employees. To Francke, the way justice is upheld by the worldly authorities does not sufficiently impede corruption.

The educational authorities must do their part and rear the youth. To punish criminals, burn witches and behead murderers does not improve society. The source of corruption must be completely destroyed, and the threefold vehicle is education, charity and work. If nothing is done to prevent the threatening disaster, things will get out of hand; ‘the salt becomes dull’ and ‘rivers will run over’ (GA2, p. 84). By hinting at the lurking danger of rising waters, “Land-Plagen” and “Gerichte Gottes”, Francke sets the dramatic scene for exhorting his readers to take action (GA2, p. 84). This passage is a good indication of the focal shift in educational interests, of the motor of Christian rearing changing from prince to preceptor.

In order to get a more precise image of why the threefold cure of education, charity and work is the answer – and eventually the reason why the university is a ‘seedling nursery’ and not a ‘mud-hole of indecency’ – we shall now turn to the two main institutions of the reform at Halle.

3.4 PERSONALIZING THE ORGANIZATION

What was it more precisely that Francke founded on the outskirts of Halle? Was it an orphanage, a seedling nursery, a planting school, a university annex or a factory of the holy spirit? These are some of the disparate terms applied to describe the reform. The variety of interchangeable concepts indicates the many facets of the work, and that it could be branded as serving charity as well as education.³⁴ We shall see how the brand went from orphanage edifice to a reform movement associated with the names of devotional heroes.³⁵

³⁴ It is illustrative that indecision prevails in the English translations of *Fußstapfen* as to whether the foundation is a “Hospital” or a “Spacious college”. Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673–1722), a former student of Francke and from 1705 royal chaplain in London to the Danish Prince George (1653–1708), translated parts of *Fußstapfen* to: *Pietas Hallensis: Or, An Abstract Of The Marvellous Footsteps Of Divine Providence, In the Building of a very large HOSPITAL, Or rather, a SPACIOUS COLLEGE, For charitable and Excellent Uses. And in the Maintaining of many Orphans & other Poor People therein*. London 1707. According to Daniel L. Brunner Böhme’s translation had a huge impact and cleared the air about Pietism in England. *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, in *AGP29*, p. 30 and pp. 83–87.

³⁵ The orphanage building was the main representational object of the reform project in Halle. Yet there is a development, as Holger Zaunstöck has pointed out, from building to portrait. In *Fußstapfen* the print of the orphanage was reproduced with every continuation published. When Francke in 1717–1718 embarked on his “Reise ins Reich”, the dissemination of his portrait began, which showed a change of medial focus. Zaunstöck, “Die Welt verändern”, 2013, p. 267. Although *Grosse Aufsatz* is prior to Francke’s journey, it reflects the development towards the medial shift. The shift was not a replacement of one object with another: Francke’s portrait had its effect thanks to the edifice he had built.

God opening doors is a frequent metaphor in *Grosse Aufsatz*. The first door that was opened was the *Friedrichs-Universität* at Halle; the second the orphanage. These two institutions are closely related and both are powerful instruments for bettering society. Although God is the primary mover, man is an active collaborator, as we have already seen in the first part. In GA1 Francke distinguished between “Menschen=Werck” and “Gottes=Werck”, but in GA2 he is keen to associate the reform project with names. His interest in personalizing the work increases in the later manuscript editions. He makes a reference similar to the choir of complaining voices, but this time he mentions Luther and his associates:

Diesem itzt beschriebenen verderbten Zustande, darinnen sich die genannte Christenheit befindet, haben sich nach Luthero und deßen Gehülffen, die es gegen das Pabstthum zu thun gehabt, manche rechtschaffene Männer nicht allein aus dem Lehrstande, sondern auch aus dem Regier-Stande mit tapffern Muth entgegen gesetzt (GA2, p. 85).

In the later manuscript editions the names of Luther’s associates make their appearance. In the B-version of 1709, four names are added,³⁶ in the C-version of 1709, seventeen more.³⁷ The interest in associating the reform project with names both personalizes and shows the consolidation of the reform movement. A list of names with biographical, or perhaps hagiographical information was also presented in a text by Anton Wilhelm Böhme in 1707, which was attached to his English translation of Francke’s *Fußstapfen*.³⁸ Böhme thus opened up a gallery of German devotional heroes to an English audience. The increasing popularity and consolidation of the reform in Halle brought with it more and explicit reference to names and figures. The lamentations over moral decay, voiced by Luther and his associates, is followed by constructive aspirations for the present day.

³⁶ Johan Arndt (1555-1621) and a trio of professors from the university in Strasbourg: Johann Schmid (1594-1658), Johann Conrad Dannhauer (1603-1666) and Johann Georg Dorsche (1597-1659). GA2, p. 85.

³⁷ Besides Arndt: Johann Gerhard (1582-1637), Johann Matthäus Meyfart (1590-1642), Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654), Paul Tarnov (1562-1632), Andreas Kessler (1595-1643), Arnold Mengerling (1596-1647), Justus Gesenius (1601-1673), Johann Saubert (1592-1646), Salomon David Glassius (1593-1656), Duke Ernst the Pious (1601-1675), Theophilus Großgebauer (1627-1661), Heinrich Müller (1631-1685), Johann Quistorp (1624-1669), Joachim Lütke mann (1608-1655), Martin Geier (1614-80), and Christian Scriver (1629-1693). GA2, p. 85-86. For more details on the names mentioned see Peschke, *SBH1*, xiii. Most of these names also occur in Francke’s hermeneutical writings, in which the list again increases over time: few names appear in the early work *Manuductio ad lectionem scripturae sacrae* (1693), more names are added in the later *Praelectiones Hermeneuticae* (1717). Barth, *Luther-Francke*, p. 43.

³⁸ Böhme, “A Short Account of some Persons who have been Instrumental in promoting the more substantial Parts of Religion among the Lutherans in Germany”, London 1707, pp. 1-28.

Zu unserer Zeit aber ist, außer dem, was Gott hin und wieder durch gesegnete Werkzeuge dißfalls gethan, nicht ohne sonderbare göttliche Providenz eine neue Universitaet hieselbst zu Halle auffgerichtet, und dadurch zugleich eine offene Thür zur Verbeßerung des allenthalben verderbten Wessens auffß neue gegeben worden (GA2, p. 86–87).

God has opened a door by planting the seed of the university at Halle. As in the previous quotation, the anonymous “gesegnete Werkzeuge” are replaced by names in the later manuscripts.³⁹ God opens another door by founding the orphanage. Francke explains how the two institutions benefit from one another.

Diese beyden von Gott zur Verbeßerung des allgemeinen Verderbens erweckte Mittel (die hiesige Universitaet und die zu Erziehung und Unterricht der Jugend und zur leiblichen und geistlichen Versorgung der Armen, gemachte Anstalten) bieten einander dergestalt die Hand, daß sowol die Anstalten der Universitaet sehr nützlich und vortheilhaftig sind, als auch die Universitaet denen Anstalten nützlich ist. (...) So fließet nun das gute, so Gott in die Universitaet hieselbsten und in die zur Erziehung und Unterweisung der Jugend wie auch zur Verpflegung der Armen gemachte Anstalten geleet, so ineinander, daß eines ohne dem andern nicht gnugsam beschrieben werden kann. Und eben durch solche reciproque Handreichung, wird der Zweck der gesuchten Verbeßerung des allgemeinen Verderbens so viel leichter hieselbst als an irgend einigen andern Orte erhalten (GA2, p. 91).

The threefold cure for corruption is generated by means of collaboration between university and orphanage. The odd one out in this description is the church. It is not dispensed with by the reform, but nor is it mentioned as part of the “erweckte Mittel” against corruption. The development from the parish in Glaucha to the orphanage did not discard the church, but initiated another ecclesiastical space, more in tune with the general tenor of Francke’s project. This shift can be interpreted as a shift from doves to eagles – which chimes in with the words of Isa 40:31 placed in the tympanum on the front of the orphanage building, to which we now turn.⁴⁰

3.5 FROM DOVES TO EAGLES

In 1704, the year GA was written, Francke’s first collection of sermons (SFA) was issued.⁴¹ One of the numerous sermons comprised in this work

³⁹ The B- and C-versions give an account of how the university was founded under the auspices of Ernst the Pious and Veit Ludwig Von Seckendorff (1626–1692). GA2, pp. 86–87.

⁴⁰ The words in the tympanon are from the first part of Isa 40:31: “but those who wait for the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings like eagles”.

⁴¹ *Sonn- und Aposteltags-Predigten* 1704, republished in 1709, 1715, 1720, 1726, 1734, 1746. Paul Raabe and Almut Pfeiffer: *August Hermann Francke 1663 - 1727 Bibliographie seiner Schriften*, 2001, pp. 174 ff.

was delivered at the end of 1698, while the orphanage was being constructed. I shall not go into details, but will draw attention to a comparison Francke makes between Johann Arndt and an eagle.⁴² It occurs as part of an assurance given to the parishioners, that God can turn them into eagles – or Arndts.⁴³

Ich stelle euch billig zum Exempel vor den seeligen Johann Arndt (...) Ach! der liebe GOtt will euch auch gern zu solchem Arenden oder Adler machen, die also in die helle Sonne der Gnaden fliegen und dieselbe anblicken könne, so ihr euch selbst nur nicht vor dem Lichte verberget.⁴⁴

The eagles are described as flying and gazing into the sun. The same motif was later applied in the orphanage tympanum, combining sun, eagles and the inscription from Isa 40:31. In the preface to the SFA sermon collection of 1704, Francke makes further ornithological remarks regarding doves and eagles. He is informing his reader of his intention to cover a wide array of subjects ‘efficiently, humbly and simply’. He is well aware that he is addressing a varied group of readers, both ‘schooled eagles’ and ‘simple doves’. The distinction between his readers is supported by a quotation from Augustine, “patiantur aquilae, dum pascuntur columbae” – ‘the high-flying eagles must patiently submit while doves are being fed.’⁴⁵ Although there was no sign of doves on the church building in Glaucha, the eagle motif in the tympanum strongly suggests that the orphanage was the place for eagles.

The transformation into eagles and the rearing in ‘true Christianity’ had better chances among the aspiring youth and on new and more spacious premises.⁴⁶ The development from one epicentre to another, from church to orphanage, expanded the ecclesiastical space. The church in Glaucha was

⁴² I have earlier worked out some of the points that follow in a jointly written article. Where applicable such points are indicated with reference to the appropriate article: Mejrups et al., *Case Studies*, pp. 249–343.

⁴³ The pun on “Arndt” and “Adler” (‘eagle’) was a commonplace. The baroque writer Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689) applied it as a motif in his Dutch translation of Arndt’s *Paradies-Gärtlein* (1612), even adding the quotation of Isa 40:31 to the emblem of the eagle. Ferdinand van Ingen, *Philipp von Zesen in seiner Zeit und seiner Umwelt*, 2013, p. 251.

⁴⁴ “Das kündlich-grosse Geheimniß der Gottseligkeit”, Francke, *SFA* 1746, pp. 152–53. The sermon was preached on December 27, 1698 in Glaucha. I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article, Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*, pp. 310–311.

⁴⁵ *SFA* 1746, 7–8. I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article: Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*, p. 311.

⁴⁶ There is a good example of this in a funeral sermon dated 1703 entitled “Die Kinder in Christo”, in which Francke treats the tension of childhood as an ideal for Christian life. The sermon combines *Gelassenheit* and Isa 40:31, and alludes to the reform project as a “school of the holy spirit”. I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article, Mejrups et al. *Case Studies*, pp. 311–312.

neither dispensed with nor replaced, but reshaped and reseeded in the pastoral landscape of Halle, which had formative sites on the orphanage premises and on the university campus. This way of reforming the church by pastoralizing the surrounding landscape is efficient. It lends immunity from accusations of subversive and unorthodox teaching. Francke is not establishing a new church or sect, and while remaining within the confines of the old church, he vindicates the advantages of the new field of the university.

Dieweil es aber beßer von staten gehet, wenn man eine Sache vom Anfang recht einrichtet, als wenn man sie reformiren und verbeßern soll, so sie einmal im Grunde verderbet ist; und dieweil auch umb die Verbeßerung der alten so sehr verderbten Universitaeten sich niemand recht bekümmern, noch dazu einen ernstlichen Anfang machen wollen, so hat es dann der Weisheit und Liebe Gottes gefallen, eine neue Universitaet auffrichten zu laßen; obwol nicht zu läugnen ist, daß man dißfalls zwischen der Absicht, so die Menschen dabey gehabt haben mögen, und zwischen der göttlichen intention nicht unbillig einen Unterscheid zu machen habe, welches niemanden frembde vorkommen mag, der der verborgenen Wege Gottes nicht gar unerfahren ist (GA2, pp. 88–89).

The collaborative work of orphanage and university inescapably had implications for the church. Indeed the project professionalized the concept of church reform by investing, not primarily in the parishioners, but the future pastors. By changing them, the churches would be reformed.⁴⁷

3.6 RECORDS OF PROVIDENCE

The famous story of how the reform in Halle was conceived is applicable to students. They must learn how to keep track of the way that providence forms and guides them. In this section I shall turn to the written accounts of the reform project, and how the act of writing was instrumental in the reform.

By the time *Grosse Aufsatz* was written in 1704 Francke had become a master in presenting his reform project. A number of written accounts had been made, by him and by others. The most famous of them was *Fußstapfen* and its continuations (1701–1709). This account was written, in a time of crisis, for a broad audience and launched as a defence of the reform in Halle.⁴⁸ Francke refers to *Fußstapfen* as a text engaging the “Anfang und

⁴⁷ The parallel work of orphanage and university was also an advantage for the theological faculty, since the authorities in Berlin were more inclined to support the orphanage than grant requests from the members of the faculty of theology. See Marianne Taatz-Jacobi: *Erwünschte Harmonie, Die Gründung der Friedrichs-Universität Halle als Instrument brandenburg-preußischer Konfessionspolitik – Motive, Verfahren, Mythos (1680-1713)*, 2014, pp. 288–289.

⁴⁸ Albrecht-Birkner, *Wirtschaftswundern*, (forthcoming). Deppermann, *Pietismus*, pp. 119–140; Welte, *Fußstapfen*, XI–XII.

das vergangene” (GA2, p. 95), thus leaving the present and the future to *Grosse Aufsatz*. Yet GA is in a continuum with *Fußstapfen* in recounting the story of a divine work inspired and directed by providence. That it is a divine enterprise is shown by the logging of providential acts. The logbook design is most evident in the seven continuations to *Fußstapfen*, in the manuscript copies of GA and in other edifying texts and discourses.⁴⁹ Furthermore, and unexpectedly, the story of providential guidance is applicable. Francke encourages diary writing and a specific technique for it. The writer must record day-to-day events, without emotional ado, in order to attest to himself and posterity how or indeed whether his life is directed by providence.⁵⁰ Francke kept just such a journal himself,⁵¹ and urged his students to do so as well.⁵² There is a close link between on the one hand this awareness of detecting, logging and preserving providential guidance, and the writing and production of texts on the other. I am not sure what to make of the enormous paper archive generated in the reform project at Halle, but this much is certain, that Francke and his colleagues could not have written it without the aid of a rationally designed system of student scribes.

Most parts of Francke’s voluminous literary output was produced with the help of student scribes. The method was carefully devised. A group of 8 to 16 students would take turns recording the spoken word in lectures, sermons and edifying discourses. Each scribe had a notebook, which after the session had ended were collected by the inspector of the free tables. He would then pass the notebooks on to another group of student scribes, who would turn the piecemeal text into a consecutive whole. At the end of this process the ‘author’ – or rather orator – would edit and proofread the manuscript. The method came to be known as the ‘Halle scribe system’; it was

⁴⁹ E.g. the inauguration discourses printed in *Zubereiteter Tisch*. I have earlier worked out this point in a jointly written article, Mejrup et al. *Case Studies*, pp. 320–323.

⁵⁰ Francke, *LP3*, p.19: “Ich pflege zwar allemal den Rath zu geben, man solle es nicht weitläufig anfangen, damit es nicht ins stecken komme, sondern man soll es in der Kürtze fassen. Indessen wird ein ieder den Nutzen davon finden (...) man darf dazu nicht grosse Künste gebrauchen. Es kann sich einer ein Büchlein dazu machen, oder er kann nur Papier zusammen legen, und kann etwa des Abends nach der Mahlzeit darein schreiben: Num 1.2.3. nach einander, was an dem Tage vorgegangen ist.”

⁵¹ Francke’s diaries were occasionally written by one or more of his trusted employees. Veronika Albrecht Birkener: “Einleitung”, August Hermann Francke, *Tagebuch 1714*, 2014, XII–XIII.

⁵² Francke, *LP3*, pp. 18–19: “Ich habe zu andrer Zeit *studiosis* zu einem *diario* gerathen. Es hat dasselbe auch bey dem Ausgang des Jahrs seinem Nutzen. Es wird einem sonst die Prüfung schwer, wie man sich in seinem Christenthum und *studiis* das Jahr über verhalten habe. Aber wenn einer ein *diarium* hat, so wird es ihm dadurch erleichtert, da kan er alles wieder finden, was von Tag zu Tag vorgegangen ist, und ist ihm hernach eine Lust und Freude wenn er das wieder nachseyen kan.”

developed in 1693–1694 to record sermons, but from 1695 was also used to record lectures and discourses.⁵³ The student scribes followed Francke and other orators around in the pastoral landscape of Halle, recording their wisdom. Anyone who has seen the daunting volumes of Francke's utterances, and perhaps noted where the words were spoken, may imagine and follow the student scribes on a tour through the pastoral landscape. They would go to the church in Glaucha on the outskirts of Halle and approximately 800 metres from the orphanage, where Francke pronounced a good part of the sermon published in 1704 in the SFA collection. They would sit in the 'school church' located in Halle's Gymnasium next to the University, where Francke delivered a substantial part of his Epistle Sermons, for the afternoon service. These sermons were later in the EP sermon collection of 1726.⁵⁴ Next to the school church, the public university auditorium was to be found. Here the scribes recorded Francke's *Lectiones Paraeneticæ*, which were held here on Thursday mornings from 10 to 11 for more than thirty years. Almost all the lectures were recorded: not all parts have been published, but the printed part alone comprises an entire paraenetical corpus with the seven volumes of *Lectiones Paraeneticæ*, the student manual: *Idea Studiosi Theologiae* and the "Studentenspiegel" *Timotheus* – to mention the best known.⁵⁵ The student scribes were also present on the orphanage grounds: in the large "Sing-saal" above the orphanage refectory, where Francke, among other speeches, gave edifying discourses on the Bible, particularly the Psalms, which were recorded and published in *Erklärung der Psalmen*. When he embarked on his *Reise ins Reich*, a team of student scribes journeyed with him. The sites were many and the preaching and lecturing activity constant. This all adds to the impression of countless words spoken, recorded, edited and published.

I have here outlined a tour following Francke only. Other of his associates and colleagues applied the same method. Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen preached twice on Sundays, thus producing material for a SFA and

⁵³ Explaining how the Halle scribe system developed Friedrich de Boor – "A. H. Franckes paraenetische Vorlesungen und seine Schriften zur Methode des theologischen Studiums" (1968), pp. 303–304 – refers to a passage in *Annales Ecclesiastici Hallensis*, Aland (ed), 1960, where it is indicated that Francke's colleague Georg Heinrich Neubauer (1666–1725) took part in developing it: "Er [Neubauer] hat auch den Anfang gemacht darinnen, daß er bey dem Altar mitgestanden, wenn der Hr. Prof. catechesiret, um die Kinder in Stille und Ordnung zu halten, welches nachher eine weise worden. Er hat auch mit etlichen Studiosis den Anfang gemacht die Predigten des Hrn. Prof. von wort zu wort nachzuschreiben nach dem Vorschlag, welchen der Hr. Chemnitz, ein gewesener Fendrich, ihm an die Hand gegeben, welches auch nachher eine weise worden." Kurt Aland, *AEH*, pp. 601–602.

⁵⁴ Francke, *Predigten über die Sonn- und Fest-Tags-Episteln*, 1726.

⁵⁵ For more on the paraenetical corpus see part three

an EP “nach hiesiger *methode*”.⁵⁶ The same goes for Johann Jakob Rambach (1693–1725), one of Francke’s former students and from 1723 assistant lecturer at the theology faculty in Halle. Rambach is particularly interesting because he is a second generation Pietist, which in this context means that he had a double experience with the scribe system, first as a student scribe, later as a speaker. In the preface to *Evangelische Betrachtungen* (1730),⁵⁷ which mostly comprise sermons delivered in the aforementioned ‘school church’ (“Schulkirche in Halle”), he drops an interesting remark concerning his former occupation as one of Francke’s student scribes. He writes:

Mich deuchte, ich könnte damit zufrieden seyn [with the numerous sermon collections of Martin Luther, Johann Arndt, Johann Gerhard, Heinrich Müllers, Joachim Lütke mann, Martin Geiers, Christian Scrivers, Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke, pp. 6–7], daß ich von der göttlichen Vorsehung gewürdiget worden, des ietzt gedachten seligen Herrn prof. Franckens herrliche Predigten über die Evangelischen und Epistolischen Texte in zwey besondern Sammlungen [note] zum Druck befördern zu helfen / in welchen so viel Erbauung anzutreffen / daß meine geringen Predigten wohl zurück bleiben könnten (*Betrachtungen*, p. 7)

The note to ‘zwey besondern Sammlungen’ reads:

Beyde Sammlungen habe ich, nachdem die Predigten aus den nachgeschriebenen Sectionen abgeschrieben worden, in Ordnung gebracht, und zum Druck praepariret, welchem sie auch, nach vorhergegangener Revision des seligen Autoris, übergeben worden (*Betrachtungen*, p. 7, note).

Rambach’s remark shows the role of providential guidance, ‘it was bestowed on him to become a scribe’, mixed with a student’s reverence for his former master. It also adds to the impression that the act of writing was a way of being written, of having the meaning impressed or inscribed upon oneself.

The scribe system had a multitude of functions. First of all, it was a way for students to earn a seat at a free table. It was also a rational invention which served the double purpose of keeping students preoccupied during sermons and lectures and getting the words intended for a broader public recorded. The scribe system equally served the purpose of documenting the devotional activities in the pastoral landscape, not only in times of prosperity or to log the input from providence, but as a resource if criticism against the reform project should arise.⁵⁸ Finally, the system served as a

⁵⁶ Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen, *Predigten über die Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelia*, 1735: Vorrede pp. 4–5.

⁵⁷ Johann Jakob Rambach: *Evangelische Betrachtungen über die Sonn- und Fest-Tags-Evangelia des gantzen Jahrs*, 1730.

⁵⁸ Gotthilf August Francke voices this concern in the preface to *Erklärung der Psalmen Davids I*, 1730, preface § V.

devotional exercise, since the scribe becomes a link in the chain of transmission: God's words through the minister's proclamation to his audience and to the scribes who fixed them in writing.

True account

Let us return to *Grosse Aufsatz*. Francke mentions a text dated to 1702, entitled "Wahrhaftige Bericht"⁵⁹ and written by Johann Daniel Herrnschmidt.⁶⁰ The report presents itself as an external witness to the development of the reform at Halle – indeed published without Francke's knowledge. It was probably distributed together with GA.⁶¹ Herrnschmidt's account openly supports Francke's work. It is nevertheless noteworthy, albeit not a coincidence, that it chimes in with one of the themes of GA by highlighting the special relationship between professors and students at Halle. Herrnschmidt describes the arrival of students in the following way.

Wann nun ein solcher neu angekommener Studiosus vor der Theologischen Fakultät erscheint / so wird er von einem oder andern befraget / damit ihn die Herren Professores desto besser kennen lernen / als zum Exempel: Der Decanus fragt nach dem Namen / Vaterland / Alter / nach dem Ort der vorgehenden Studien/ es seye gleich eine Universität / Gymnasium oder andere Schule / und endlich nach den Profectibus selber / was man in Humanioribus, in Philosophicis aut ipso Theologiae studio, vornemlich auch in Linguis graecâ & Latinâ gethan / ob und was für Collegia gehalten; nicht weniger / wohin man seinen scopum richt / ob man in der Kirchen oder Schulen GOtt zu dienen gedencke / wie lange man auff Universitäten zu leben hoffe? Nächst diesem werden auch Quaestiones quasi domesticae vorgeleget / wo man im Hause logiert / in was vor einem Contubernio, wo man speise / sc. Und die Antworten mercket ein jeder der Herren Professorum, wie auch die dabey sitzende Adjuncti Theologiae, in ein libellum memorialem an / auff daß sie sich daraus aller dieser Umstände desto besser erinnern können (Herrnschmidt, *Bericht*, pp. 5–6).

This way of interrogating and keeping track of students is an expression of interest and care. It is this that Francke complained was missing at universities. Herrnschmidt too interpreted the interrogation positively. In general, concord prevails between Francke's and Herrnschmidt's accounts. Yet two years separate them, which is why Francke seizes the chance to bring the latest development up to date. This happens to be the "Sing- und

⁵⁹ Johann Daniel Herrnschmidt: "Warhafftiger Bericht Von dem jetzigen Zustand der Löblichen Theologischen Facultät Auf der weitberühmten Königlich-Preussischen Universität zu Halle" 1702.

⁶⁰ From 1716, sub director of the orphanage. Kramer, *Lebensbild* 2, pp. 208–212.

⁶¹ See below.

Bettstunde auff einem Saal des Waysenshauses”.⁶² Like the free tables, the “Singstunde” was initiated in the church vicarage, but swiftly expanded and relocated to the orphanage building. This initiative thus followed the general trend ‘from doves to eagles’.

3.7 ORPHANAGE – THE CENTRE OF AN INDUSTRY

The orphanage building was the lighthouse of Francke’s reform programme. It was around this building that the cluster of schools and manufacturing workshops were established. From this centre a large and increasing establishment emerged, as we see in the following description.

Ferner ist zu betrachten, was dem Waysenhaus zugehöre: Hinter den kurtz vorhergedachten garten, sind 2. Weinberge, welche um 3. Tausend und 400. Thaler angekauft sind, bey denenselben waren von den Possessoribus kleine Wohnhäuser, Scheune und Ställe angeleget, welche nun dem Waysenhauß als ein kleines Vorwerck sind, da die Frucht des Waysenhauses eingeleget, das Vieh gehalten, und die Schlachtung fürs Waysenhaus verrichtet wird. Zwey freye halbe Hufen Landes sind dem Waysenhaus geschenckt. Auch sind 3. Wohnhäuser in Glaucha, welche dem Waysenhaus zu gehören, und von dem selben wohl genutzt werden. Eine Apoteke, Buchladen und Buchdruckerey, welche letztere nicht allein mit völligen Preßen und mit allen in Teutschland befindlichen typis als Teusch Lateinisch und Griechisch, sondern auch mit orientalischen als Hebräischen Syrischen, Aeth[i]opischen, ingleichen auch mit slavonischen lettern zur gnüge versehen, befinden sich alle 3. In dem neuerbauten Waysenhouse selbst, welche corpora denn, wie der Augenschein zeigt von guter Wichtigkeit, und nunmehr als ein gutes capital des Waysenhauses anzusehen sind (GA2, pp. 98–99).

The aim of all this industry was for the reform to become self-supplying. The inter-regional outlook was reflected in the apothecary’s shop, the printing house with German, Latin, Greek, Slavonic, Russian, Hebrew, Ethiopian and Syrian sets of type. The many sets were used for putting out Bibles and devotional literature in different languages, the production of which combined philological knowledge, assiduous work and a missionary aim. The gardens, slaughterhouse, barns and farms lent weight to the ambition

⁶² GA2, pp. 93–94. “Es war diese Übung erst in der Pfarrwohnung zu Glaucha nur in Gegenwart weniger Personen gehalten, deren Zahl sich aber immer vermehret, biß sie endlich bey bequemer Veranlaßung ins Waysenhaus verleget worden, und nun wol von 500, 600 oder mehr Personen ordentlich besucht wird, welche also geordnet sind, daß die Manns Leute besonders, und die Weibs-Leute auch besonders sitzen, und auch sonst alle Unordnung ohne difficultaet vermieden werden kann. Es wird erst ein Lied gesungen, dann gebetet, darauff ein Text etwa eine halbe Stunde zur Auffweckung und Ermunterung in Glauben und in der Liebe abgehandelt, und wieder mit einem Gebeth und Liede beschloßen. Jetzo wird der Psalter Davids nach der Ordnung, und zwar jedesmal ein gantzer Psalm tractiret, und darinnen sonderlich auff Christum als den Kern der Psalmen gewiesen.”

of autonomy.⁶³ Although the property already seems large, Francke makes it clear to his supportive readers that yet more land would be a benefit (“Die *Haushaltung im Waysen-Hause* würde dann erst in ihrem rechten gewünschten Stande seyn, wenn *ein rechtes Land Guth* dabey wäre, daraus die oeconomie versorget werden”, GA2, p. 147). He explains that by having a manor of its own, the orphanage could become more self-sufficient and would have the space and the material for training orphans in agriculture.⁶⁴ This would, furthermore, help improve the Haus-*Stand* (GA2, p. 147. I shall not go into detail with all aspects of the large orphanage industry, but focus on Francke’s own selection of nine important sites.

Francke narrows his horizon and zooms in on nine selected places (GA2, pp. 96–101) The nine are representative of the larger whole and of its quality. He reuses the selection elsewhere: in the fourth chapter it is used to point up the flaws and imperfections of the work (GA2, pp. 134–139); and in the fifth chapter to present suggestions on how to amplify God’s work in Halle (GA2, pp. 143–155).

- 1) Collegium Orientale Theologicum
- 2) The Seminarium Praeceptorum
- 3) The Extraordinairen Freytische
- 4) Paedagogium Regium
- 5) The orphanage with the apothecary’s shop, printing press and bookshop
- 6) The schools belonging to the orphanage
- 7) The institution for widows
- 8) The institution for the poor in Glaucha
- 9) The institution for the dismissed and displaced

The selection shows an organization that specializes in higher education and social care. The symmetry of the list adds to the idea of a correspondence between map and function: the orphanage is placed in the middle with four places on each side. Numbers 6, 7, 8, and 9 relate to schooling, social care and discipline. These places realize the Christian believers’ ‘duty to the poor’ and the idea that social care embraces cultivation *and* supervision.⁶⁵ The numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 pertain to higher education and student

⁶³ Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, p. 76, Claus Veltmann: “Autonomie und Autarki” and “Die Bau- und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Franckeschen Stiftungen bis 1750”, in *Gebaute Utopien*, KFS25, p. 154, pp. 93–107.

⁶⁴ No manors were acquired during Francke’s lifetime, but in 1729 it gained a manor in Canena near Halle. In 1735 two other “Rittergüter” in Reideburg and in Berga at Kyffhäuser came into its possession. Further appropriation was prohibited by Friedrich II in 1746. Podczek, GA2, p. 147. Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, p. 76.

⁶⁵ See part one and the analysis of Francke’s sermon *Pflicht gegen den Armen*.

training. Each of the nine places is worth a chapter of its own. Here I shall focus on the *Collegium Orientale Theologicum*, the *Seminarium Praeceptorum* and the *Extraordinairen Freytische*, since these three *collegia* for scholars and preceptors epitomize the tandem work between the orphanage and the university, and the effort to improve the *Lehrstand* by training pastors.

3.8 FOOD FOR STOMACH AND SOUL

The education of teachers in Halle developed as part of the expanding alimentary stipend system. The number of students employed as teachers or scribes, thereby earning meals in the refectory, was steadily increasing. The development of the stipend system was also an evolving innovation and specialization of the training of teachers. The ideal for the theology student was to become a ‘textual theologian’. For preceptors, an additional curricular burden other than Bible reading was required, namely instruction in teaching. I shall come back to this, but first let us see how the system developed.

The first *collegium* for the student “Freytischler” was the *Seminarium Praeceptorum* started in 1696. It offered refectory seats for 24 students and 12 orphans, placed at two tables. The college was located at the *Mittelwache Haus*, near Francke’s vicarage in Glaucha.⁶⁶ The number of tables and students grew rapidly in the following years.⁶⁷ The college was therefore relocated in 1698 to the former inn *Zum güldene Adler* standing next to where the orphanage was built. At the end of 1699 the free tables moved into the small dining hall in the orphanage, and in 1711, twelve years later, it was removed into an edifice which extended the orphanage.⁶⁸ Above the new refectory hall, the grand hall for singing and devotion was built.⁶⁹ Francke therefore puns that the new orphanage storey provides food for

⁶⁶ Johann Ludwig Schulze, George Christian Knapp, August Hermann Niemeyer *Beschreibung des Hallischen Waisenhauses*, 1799, pp. 129–133.

⁶⁷ 42 students in 1697; 72 in 1704; 80 in 1706; 90 in 1709. Berthold Ebert, “Das ‘Seminarium praeceptorum’ August Hermann Franckes, zur Geschichte der Lehrerbildung in den Franckeschen Stiftungen”, in *KFS4*, p. 106.

⁶⁸ Francke, *Zubereiteter Tisch*, pp. 5–7.

⁶⁹ Friedrich de Boor “Von den privaten *Singstunden* im Glauchaer Pfarrhaus (1698) zu den öffentlichen *Ermahnungs-Stunden* im Waisenhaus (1703), Forschungsbericht und Quellenüberblick”, *HF9*, pp. 1–46.

both stomach and soul.⁷⁰ The devotional practice in the singing hall and the free tables in the refectory are both examples of how the early reform initiatives, outlined and begun in Francke's vicarage, were consolidated and centralized in the orphanage building. The reform moved from doves to eagles.

Francke designed a new free table college in 1707, the *Seminarium selectorum praeceptorum* (*Selectorum*), which ran parallel to the already existing one. The idea was to hinder the trained and capable preceptors from leaving Halle immediately after ending their studies. The members of the *selectorum* therefore signed up for a five-year period: two years of education and three years of teaching service after ending their studies, mainly in the Latin school and the *Paedagogium Regium*.⁷¹ During the five years the aspiring teachers lived with the school children and dined at the free tables. The *Selectorum* specialized in training teachers for high level schools, and shows an increasing professionalization compared to the ordinary college. Further specialized was the *Collegium Orientale Theologicum* which was designed to train candidates for the university.⁷²

Collegium Orientale Theologicum

The Collegium Orientale Theologicum (*Orient*) was founded in 1702 and it most clearly reflects the combination of scholarly erudition and piety characteristic of Halle Pietism.⁷³ It comprised twelve skilled members,

⁷⁰ The text collection *Zubereiteter Tisch* contains a "Historische Nachricht" outlining the rapid development of the free tables and the colleges; table rules, "Leges", and finally speeches held at the inauguration of the singing hall in 1711 and the small refectory hall in 1700. In the "Historische Nachricht", one finds Francke's remark: "daß also in diesem oberen Stockwerke für die Seelen / gleichwie im unteren für die Leiber/ Speisen bereitet und dargereichte werden." *Zubereiteter Tisch*, pp. 9–10.

⁷¹ Ebert, *Seminarium*, p. 106.

⁷² GA2, p. 134: "Und sollen diejenigen subjecta so ins Collegium Orientale aufgenommen sind, die studia zu einer rechten soliditaet bringen, und sie dergestalt excoliren, daß man sie in wichtigen Aemtern sonderlich auff Universitaeten wird gebrauchen können, so müssen sie billig gnugsahmen apparatus von Büchern zur Hand haben, und zwar nicht allein von Büchern die andern zugehören, sondern auch von solchen Büchern, die sie selbst nach eigenem Gefallen gebrauchen können: daran aber hat mans bisher allzusehr müßen fehlen laßen."

⁷³ Francke, *Viertes Proiect des Collegii Orientalis Theologici 1702*, in *KTFS8*, pp. 1–16. For a thorough account of this college see Otto Podcizek: "Die Arbeit am Alten Testament in Halle zur Zeit des Pietismus. Das Collegium Orientale theologicum A. H. Franckes", (1958), pp. 1059–1078. See also Kramer, *Lebensbild I*, pp. 250–255.

mostly students of theology.⁷⁴ They lived and dined together in ‘two spacious rooms in the orphanage’⁷⁵ with their supervisors professor Johann Heinrich Michaelis (1668–1738)⁷⁶ and assistant lecturer Johannes Tribbechow (1677–1712).⁷⁷ The college specialized in oriental and eastern European languages, and had as its goal sound scholarly editions and translations of the Bible. It was designed in a way that secured continuity. Each of the twelve students thus had to sign up for a period of four to six years and find a competent replacement if they left before time.⁷⁸ In GA, Francke draws attention to the importance of being able to retain and prolong the stay of skilled students.

Das Collegium Orientale Theologicum, welches also veranlaßet worden: Dieweil man nemlich wahrgenommen, daß guten und wohlgearteten ingeniis nicht leichtlich vergönnet wird soviel Jahre auff hiesiger Universitaet zu zubringen, als ihnen zur perfection in ihren studiis und zu einen festgesetzten Wesen in ihren Christenthum, folglich zu künftiger Bedienung wichtiger Aempter nötig seyn möchte, sondern daß dieselben weil an guten Leuten allenthalben großer Mangel

⁷⁴ “Tobias Rende (Eisenach), Jacob Henning (Salau), Johann August Krebs (Meiningen), Wilhelm Christian Schneider (Herbsleben/Thür.), Christian Benedict Michaelis (Ellrich), Abraham Kalle (Flensburg), Georg Carl Petri (Holleben b. Halle), Jerem. Philipp Krug (Darmstadt), Johann Gustav Reinbeck (Celle), Georg Johannes Hencke (Ülzen), Christoph Praetorius (Wollin/Pomm.), Matthaeus Zander (Stargard/Pomm.).” Their *Lebensläufe* are recorded in Latin in *Liber actorum Collegii Orientalis*, the archives in Halle. Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1061.

⁷⁵ Aland, *Annales Ecclesiastici Hallensis* with references to the *Liber Actorvm Collegii Orientalis Theologici*, p. 618. The mention in a letter of 1703 from Francke to Herrnschmidt suggests that the college was moved to another location: “coll. or. wird nun ins Herrn Postmeisters neuerbautes Nebenhauß transferiret”. August Nebe: *Neue Quellen zu August Hermann Francke*, 1927, p. 71. This is also noticed by Kramer, who mentions that ‘the two spacious rooms in the orphanage’ were not that spacious, which is why the college resettled in a new location; eventually it was the plan that the college should have had its own building. Kramer, *Lebensbild I*, p. 253.

⁷⁶ When Francke became professor of theology in 1698, Johann Heinrich Michaelis took over his old position as professor of oriental languages. It was thanks to the effort of Michaelis and his nephew, Christian Benedict Michaelis (1680–1764), that the col. Ori. edition of the Hebrew Bible was finally realized in 1720, although Francke had imagined that it could be completed within four years. Podczeck, *Orient*, pp. 1059, 1062.

⁷⁷ Concerning the place of the joined lodging, Podczeck quotes an account from the *Hallische Correspondentz* 1706: “Sie wohnen alle in einem Hauße, das für sie gemiethet ist, ie zwey und zwey auf einer Stuben, speißen auch alle an einem Tische mit oberwehten H. Professori Tribbechow. wie denn der H. Professor Michaelis und H. Professor Tribbechow auch in eben dem Hauße wohnen”. Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1067.

⁷⁸ Podczeck, *Orient*, pp. 1059–1060: “Ein wichtiger Punkt ist die Verpflichtung, jedes Mitglied solle etliche Jahre dem Institut treu bleiben. Eltern oder Vormund sollen diese Verpflichtung mit unterstützen. Damit der Seminarbetrieb nie eine Unterbrechung erfährt, verlangt Francke, daß der aus dem Coli. Or. Ausscheidende für einen oder besser mehrere Nachfolger selbst sorgt”.

ist, allzufrühzeitig zu nicht geringen Nachtheil des boni publici an andere Orte von hier weggenommen, in die Arbeit gesteckt, und an Erreichung ihres Zwecks gehemmt werden, so ist um diesem Übel abzuhelfen vor etlichen Jahren dieses Collegium aufgerichtet, in welchem eine Anzahl von 12. Studiosis, und gutentheils Magistris unter der Aufsicht des Professoris L.L.O.O. und des Adjuncti Facultatis Theologicae in einem Hause, an einen Tische zusammen geordnet, und auff 4. 5. biß 6. Jahr in selbigem Collegio zuverbleiben, und in wehrender Zeit ihre Studia nach der ihnen von der Theologischen Facultaet vorschriebenen methode fortzusetzen, auch andern Studiosis in den Sprachen und Wißenschafften mit Unterricht an die Hand zugehen oder Collegia zu halten obligiret sind (GA2, p. 96).

In order to become a college member, one had to master Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and be acquainted with oriental languages such as Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopian, Rabbinic. As if this was not enough, Francke also requested knowledge of French, Italian, English, Russian and Polish.⁷⁹ Linguistic skill was not all. The members should cursorily read through the German Bible in three months; the Old Testament in Hebrew once a year, and the Greek New Testament thrice a year. In order to secure that the members did not lose touch with praxis, they were encouraged to give catechism lessons in the orphanage schools.⁸⁰ This idea of being absorbed in philological Bible studies, while staying attuned to the devotional calendar resembles an image Francke presents, in one of his lectures on Titus, of the ideal teacher. He must be like a tall tree reaching upwards but with long branches hanging down offering assistance and fruit to the weak who have no ladder.⁸¹

A regular day in the oriental college began at four o'clock in the morning. From four to seven, the members were occupied in exegetical and philological analysis of Old Testament texts and translations; from seven to eight followed an hour of cursory reading of the Old Testament in the vernacular; the hours from eight to twelve were free for the members to frequent lectures at the theology and the philosophy faculties or give catechetical instruction. From five to seven in the afternoon, they compared the He-

⁷⁹ Quoted from Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1060: "Es wird auch wohl geschehen können, daß man die occidentalischen Sprachen, Frantzösisch. Italianisch, English etc wie auch andere als Slavonisch und deren dialectos Polnisch, Rußisch, treibe und zu anderer darzu capabel ist, und man vielleicht hierunter noch einen höheren Winck Gottes merken möchten".

⁸⁰ Podczeck, *Orient*, pp. 1060–1061.

⁸¹ See part three and the analysis of the fourth Titus Lecture.

brew manuscripts.⁸² In their spare time they were to practise “Stilübungen” and disputations in Latin.⁸³

The inspector of the college, Johannes Tribbechow, wrote progress reports. The first, which recounted the period May 1702 to May 1703, shows that the time was too short to realize Francke’s plans. The programme was modified, and the report from autumn 1703 to spring 1704 attests that all objects were accomplished.⁸⁴

In 1704, five Greeks arrived in Halle, and they were accommodated with the members and supervisors of the oriental college (GA 96).⁸⁵ They were to study at Halle and after some time return to Greece and become promoters of reform in their home country (GA pp. 134, 144). We know from other sources that the story of the five Greeks turned out differently than had been planned.⁸⁶ One of them died at Halle, another, Anastasios Michail, played an important role in getting the New Testament translated into modern Greek.⁸⁷ And rumour had it that a third, Seraphim, had abused an underage girl in London and later been accused of espionage in Russia.⁸⁸

Francke developed the oriental college in close correspondence with the famous orientalist Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704).⁸⁹ He would send the outlines to Ludolf, who replied with constructive criticism. He strongly advised Francke, for instance, to cut down on the language requirements. He found that Aramaic, Persian, Chinese, Turkish, New Greek, Polish and Russian were unnecessary.⁹⁰ He also questioned Francke’s idea of having the college members give catechetical instruction and teach the children in the or-

⁸² The college members had five *Erfurter Handschriften* and 19 editions available. Podczeck, *Orient* p. 1069. Ludwig Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, 1869, p. 416.

⁸³ Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1062. Podczeck informs us that the hour of cursory reading of the Bible from 7–8 in the morning replaced the original requirement that each student was to read the Old Testament in Hebrew once a year and the New Testament in Greek thrice a year.

⁸⁴ Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1062

⁸⁵ See also Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1067.

⁸⁶ Ulrich Moennig, “Die griechischen Studenten am Hallenser Collegium orientale theologicum”, *HFI*, pp. 299–330

⁸⁷ Moennig, *Studenten*, p. 318

⁸⁸ Moennig, *Studenten*, p. 311

⁸⁹ Not to be confused with his younger nephew, the much-travelled orientalist Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolff (1655–1712), with whom Francke also stood in close contact. See Kramer, *Lebensbild I*, p. 258. Nebe, “Brief Ludolffs in London an Francke 1701”, in *Quellen*: pp. XXXII–XXXV. Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1062.

⁹⁰ Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1062

phanage schools.⁹¹ According to Ludolf, more attention should be allotted to the physical condition and the spirits of the college members; it was important that they have a “vortreffliche Begabung in jeder Beziehung, gute körperliche Konstitution, Humor, Reiselust.”⁹² Ludolf’s interests were not confined within scholarly perimeters. He saw the college as a chance to establish an evangelical missionary institute. Podczeck stresses that this was Ludolf’s idea, and that Francke neither embraced nor discarded it.⁹³ The target for the college was mainly to train erudite and devotional scholars.

In the later chapters of GA2, Francke mentions the shortcomings of the college and how his supportive readers could add to it. First of all, he wants to increase the membership from 12 to 15, and supply them with books and travel stipends to Holland and England. He also mentions that other nations than Greece could benefit from exchanging students with Halle (GA2, pp. 134, 143). The Oriental college did not however develop as planned, and the number of members kept declining. In 1707 the five remaining members had as their sole task the scholarly edition of the Hebrew Bible.⁹⁴ The edition was completed in 1720, by which time the college no longer existed.⁹⁵

Preceptor colleges and free table stipend system

Education and pastoral training were designed to prepare the future teacher and pastor for a life in the world, beyond the pastoral landscape of Halle. The teaching experience in the orphanage schools made the student teacher the object and the subject of a process of cultivation. Through them the reform of Halle was transmitted both inside and outside the gated community of the orphanage. They had a practical function as teachers and student scribes, and at the same time, in Francke’s staging of his work, they served as the embodiment of the reform.

In GA Francke gives an outline of the different colleges: the *Seminarium Praeceptorum* has 72 theology students working as teachers in the orphanage schools or as student scribes. For two hours of work they earn a seat in the refectory; additional hours are paid in cash (GA2, p. 97). But with the support of benefactors, more decent salaries might be given, thus prevent-

⁹¹ Podczeck summarizes: “eine Unterrichtung von Kindern in orientalischen Sprachen hält er für unsinnig.” *Orient*, p. 1064.

⁹² Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1063

⁹³ Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1063

⁹⁴ Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1068 with reference to Francke’s exchange of letters with Canstein.

⁹⁵ Podczeck, *Orient*, p. 1068.

ing good student teachers from leaving Halle.⁹⁶ Apart from the *Seminarium Praeceptorum*, Francke mentions the *Extraordinairen Freytische* which provide 64 students with lunch. All poor students can apply for a vacant seat by registering at 7 o'clock in the morning with the table inspector. If one does not get a seat one day, he will be among the first the next day (GA2, p. 97). From among the students waiting in line, the so-called "Expectanten", the pious and the hardworking are selected for the *Seminarium Praeceptorum*.⁹⁷ The extraordinary free tables thus served a double function, providing food to students and giving the orphanage administrators a chance to observe and handpick the most persistent and pious candidates for more permanent seats.

In the GA-sections that list the imperfections of the free table colleges, the first thing Francke mentions is the lack of education of the student teachers. Not one among the 72 members of the *Seminarium Praeceptorum* is sufficiently qualified to teach at the *Paedagogium Regium* (GA2, p. 135). Francke voices his concern, and reasons that if this is the case in Halle, how much worse is it elsewhere?

Ist nun dieses Seminarium praeceptorum nicht einmal für hiesige Anstalten sufficient, wie solte es hinlänglich seyn, andern Oertern gute praeceptores privatos, geschweige Rectores Con-Rectores und andere praeceptores publicos mitzutheilen, da es doch allenthalben an guten Schulleuten fehlet (GA2, p. 135)

The particular problem, then, is made general. Francke came up with the idea of amending the want by opening another college in 1707, the *seminarium selectorum praeceptorum*.⁹⁸ The *Selectorum* was designed for students who studied to become teachers rather than ministers. Its members committed themselves to two years of education and three years of teaching service, mainly in the high-level schools, the Latin school and the *Paedagogium Regium*.⁹⁹ Furthermore the poor level of "studiis scholasti-

⁹⁶ GA2 p. 136: "Hiernechst sollten die *Praeceptores* billig mit austräglichen *Salariis* versehen werden, damit sie nicht bey kümmerlichen Umständen in ihrer Arbeit zubalde verdroßen, und dadurch zu einer Veränderung alzufrühzeitig bewegt würden."

⁹⁷ GA2, p. 97: "Welche man nun unter der Hand aus der Zahl diese, so des Mittags allein gespeiset werden, als fromme und fleißige Studiosos kennen lernet, die werden, wenn Stellen auffkommen, in das kurtz vorher gedachte Seminarium Praeceptorum auffgenommen, da sie Mittags und Abends ordentlich und unangemeldet speisen können."

⁹⁸ The *Selectorum* was started after GA was written, but is mentioned in the later B-manuscript, which also updates the increased numbers of seats at the free tables. The 64 seats of the Extraordinary Free Tables have increased in 1709 to 84 lunch seats and 36 dinner seats for "Studioli" and 48 seats for "Schüler". GA2, pp. 144 line 18 – 145 line 14. The numbers of "Expectanten" have increased from 64 to 84.

⁹⁹ For more on the *Paedagogium Regium* see Werner Loch: "Pädagogik am Beispiel August Hermann Franckes", *GdP4*, pp. 293–296.

cis” (GA2, p. 135) among the preceptors was to be improved by lectures given by Christoph Cellarius (1638–1707), a professor of rhetoric and history from the philosophical department. For two hours a day Cellarius instructed the preceptors in “Cursus-Philologicus oder Encyclopedia Scholastica” (GA2, p. 144). It might seem strange that Francke mentions this to his readers in GA. Would it be of interest to them? The answer might be that details concerning the curriculum show a professional interest in the training of preceptors. It also deflected an assault that had been made on the schooling and the teachers in the orphanage schools.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, it admitted the necessity of school curricula on the method of teacher training. After Cellarius’ death in 1707, Hieronymus Freyer, the inspector of the *Paedagogium Regium*, took over the training of the preceptors. He was the author of *Nützliche und nöthige Handleitung Zu Wohlanständigen Sitten* (1706), which although written for students at the *Paedagogium Regium* gives a general impression of how the student teachers were instructed.¹⁰¹

3.9 PASTORAL FORMATION

Education combined with applicability, instruction, direction and admonition. This was the goal as well as the trademark of the university in Halle. The idea that erudite lecturing at universities does not do the trick alone, is a topos with its roots and its heyday in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment.¹⁰² Jan Hendrik Olbertz uses the term “hodegetics” – from the Greek ὁδήγησις, guiding, literally ‘showing the way’ – for the propaedeutic effort in academic education. Hodegetics is an umbrella term for methodology, propaedeutics, isagogics and paraenesis, and according to Olbertz, it was particularly fashionable in philosophy faculties in the eighteenth century, although the concept was rooted in the renaissance.¹⁰³ I have not come across usage of the term by Francke and his associates, but the idea is nevertheless central. At times the propaedeutic effort is subsumed as *paraenesis* or *cura pastoralis* or other related but less technical terms: *An-*

¹⁰⁰ I shall return to Andreas Stiefels’ criticism below.

¹⁰¹ Francke recommends it to theology students in *Idea*, pp. 258–262.

¹⁰² I rely here on works by Jan-Hendrik Olbertz – “Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsreformen aus zwei Jahrhundertwenden in Preußen. Die Universitäten von Halle und Berlin”, *KFS*8, 2001; “Hodegetik, hallesche Wurzeln einer universitätspädagogischen Denktradition im Licht der akademischen Freiheit”, 1994 – and his definition of hodegetics, as a concept rooted in the renaissance and having its floruit in the Enlightenment. Although Olbertz investigates the “hallesche Wurzeln einer universitätspädagogischen Denktradition”, he pays more attention to Enlightenment and Christian Thomasius than to the Pietists.

¹⁰³ Olbertz, *Wissenschaftsreformen*, p. 278

sprache, Erinnerung, Ermahnung or *Anleitung*.¹⁰⁴ In any case, the pastoral formation of students was a brand of the reform, and the endeavour was not restricted to the university but spread out across the devotional sites in the pastoral landscape of Halle – and reflected in the large number of lectures, discourses, catechetical studies, examinations and sermons.¹⁰⁵ The theology student was the immediate addressee, through whom other students at other faculties, members of noble households and ordinary families were also addressed. Indeed the purpose of this rhetorical stratagem was to permeate all estates of society with instruction in ‘true Christianity’ and ‘godliness’.¹⁰⁶ Francke treats this subject in GA2, pp. 102–122. He informs his readers that the key to success at Halle is the “Anführung” of the young aspirant for the “Lehramt”. One crowning witness to whom Francke alludes is Johann Daniel Herrnschmidt. His *Wahrhafftigen Bericht* (1702) was supposedly distributed together with GA, hence the “beygelegten” in the following quotation.

Was könnte aber nach der heutigen Kirchen Verfaßung für ein beßerer Weg dazu seyn, als wenn Studiosi Theologiae einer solchen Anführung (die zwar an ihr selbst noch immer verbeßert werden kann) genießen, als in dem beygelegten Wahrhafftigen Bericht gemeldet worden? (GA2, p. 103).

Herrnschmidt’s account is a testimony of the pastoral formation at Halle.¹⁰⁷ Francke avers that it is a result of a joint and assiduous effort carried out by professors, pastors, deacons, preceptors and others. Indeed, the reform project is transmitted in this way, through “Anführung” (GA2, pp. 104–105). The pastoral direction was given orally and in written form, the written form often being the result of the student scribes’ records.¹⁰⁸ The preceptors undertook work as student copyists, trained to record sermons and lectures and make continuous text out of the results. The benefit of the text production was double, in that it etched the edifying and hodegetic message into the preceptor/student scribe, who at the same time was the broadcasting medium. The sermons are instructive, Francke informs his readers, but so are the texts with pastoral directions:

¹⁰⁴ In part three I shall argue that Francke and Paul Anton strive towards the same object with different terms. Francke calls his lectures paraenetical, Anton calls his pastoral.

¹⁰⁵ Compare *Idea*, p. 207: “Die Lehre vom wahren Christenthum oder von der wahren und gründlichen Gottseligkeit wird hieselbst mit Ernst und Eyfer nicht nur öffentlich vorgetragen / sondern auch von denen Lehrenden von Herten geliebet und geübet.”

¹⁰⁶ To channel the edifying message through the student, has a parallel in the way the church is addressed through Timothy and Titus in the Pastoral Letters. See part three.

¹⁰⁷ See the quotation above.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. above.

Die Predigten und viele andere Schrifften, besonders diejenigen, in welchen zur rechten Führung des Predig-Ambts eine Anweisung gegeben worden, haben auch das ihrige beygetragen, und manche Prediger, nicht allein überzeugt, sondern auch bewogen eine gründliche Aenderung ihrer selbst und der Führung ihres Ambts zu suchen (GA2, p. 106).

It is exactly these “viele andere Schrifften” that are central to the pastoral hodegetic effort, as well as the impetus for the reform movement.¹⁰⁹ Sermons and preaching are means which must be sustained, recapitulated and turned into praxis. The advancement of the reform can be measured by the extent to which sermons are sustained with public and private catechetical instruction:

Ein besonderer Segen hat sich darinnen gezeigt, daß sehr viele auff gewecket worden, es nicht bey dem Predigen zu laßen, sondern publiques und privat catechisationen hinzu zu thun, und dergestalt aus der lang eingewurzelten groben Unwissenheit ihren anvertrauten gemeinen zu helffen (GA2, pp. 106–107).

The instructive literature produced in and emerging from Halle is useful to all social discourses. It benefits pastors and teachers, the worldly authorities (“die Policey”) (GA2, p. 107), the ordinary people, the nobility, king and queen (GA, pp. 107–110). The texts are but one fixed medium, the fleshed-out message is promoted by ‘god-fearing preceptors’ raised and trained at Halle. Francke describes how the Halle preceptor is a most eligible product in demand from all sides (GA2, p. 113). For internal purposes, the preceptors are of use for tutoring theology students and teaching in the orphanage schools (GA2, pp. 111–112).¹¹⁰ Once a week conferences are held for the preceptors and inspectors in order to ensure and improve their teaching abilities (GA2, p. 112). The hodegetic effort invested in the preceptors pays off twice; it directs the preceptor in directing others. This is another example of the benefits of the collaboration between university and the orphanage setup.

The word about the work in Halle is spread via different channels, either privately by Francke¹¹¹ or by public agency, the printed texts or the Halle preceptors, the “getreue Hirten” (GA2, p. 115). The result is that Halle has become known and the reform has prompted imitations in and outside

¹⁰⁹ Markus Matthias emphasizes that the reconstruction of theology in Pietism involves a “comprehensive change of mentality” and that it is successful in addressing individuals. See Matthias, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 19, 21.

¹¹⁰ GA2, pp. 111–112: The later manuscript edition updates the numbers: ‘more than 150’.

¹¹¹ Francke frequently mentions that, in order to keep the text short, more examples can be obtained from him directly. GA2, p. 119: “Mehere particulier Exempel, daraus der Segen des Wercks des Herrn hieselbst zur Verbeßerung des Verderbten Schul-Wesens zu erkennen seyn möchte, will die gesuchte Kürtze anzuführen nicht gestatten, und würde mündlich leichter geschehen können.”

Germany: in “Königsberg”, “Halberstadt”, “Nürnberg”, “Ostfrießland”, Stockholm, Moscow and England (GA2, pp. 116–118). Particularly is the impact in England highlighted.¹¹²

Care for the soul

The success at Halle is caused by the combination of “äußerliche Wißenschaafft” and “Geist Gottes”. This is not only the key to success, it is also a necessity, without which the result would lead to ‘horrific soul-murder’. The consequences of relying on untrue and worldly administrators loom large:

Wo es aber anders ist, da wird der allergreulichste Seelen-Mord begangen. Denn was könnte greulich seyn, als unbekehrte, fleischliche und weltlich gesinnete Leute zum Göttlichen Lehr-Ambt auff Universitaeten bestellen, aus deren Schulen denn die Christliche Kirche ihr Hirten und Wächter für ganzte gemeinen, für Dörffer, Städt und Länder nehmen sol, und doch keine andere als solche, wie sie die Lehrer auff Universitaeten selbst sind, von ihnen erwarten kann? Ist denn nicht ein Episcopus oder Patronus, der einen bösen und heuchlerischen Menschen ins Predigt Amt beruffet, schuld daran, daß so viele Seelen in fleischlicher Sicherheit auffgehalten, und durch untreue Ambts-Verwaltung verwahrloset werden; wie viel größer ist aber die Schuld derjenigen Obrigkeit, welche unbekehrte Professores Theologiae bestellet, dadurch soviel an ihr ist, soviele Gemeinen ins Verderben bringet, die aus Mangel treuer Hirten verwahrloset werden, und sich selber theilhaftig machet aller Sünden und Aergerniße der bösen Prediger, die von denen so übel bestellten Universitaeten genommen werden? (GA2, pp. 120–121).

Francke here ranks the order of responsibility: the bishop is responsible for commissioning preachers, the worldly authorities for appointing professors of theology. The sin of misleading one soul is grave, worse is it to mislead an entire congregation. Worst of all is the damage done by a professor of theology:

Groß ist die Sünde, so iemand eine einige Seele verwahrloset, größer so jemanden eine gantze Gemeine verwahrloset, noch größer so man durch Bestellung böser Prediger viele Gemeinen verwahrloset, am allergrößten so man durch Bestellung böser Professorum Theologiae, die Untreue an der gantzen Christlichen Kirche begehet, daß man ihr böse und trügliche Arbeiter gleichsam als in einer Werckstatt zubereiten läßt (GA2, p. 121).

The professor of theology can cause most harm, but the worldly authorities share the responsibility, since they have commissioned him.¹¹³ Univer-

¹¹² A famous preacher in London, Josiah Woodward (1657–1712) had in a sermon spoken well of the work at Halle as an example to follow. GA2, p. 114. The later B, C and D manuscripts add that White Kennett (1680–1728), an English bishop and classicist, in 1706 also praised the orphanage.

sity teachers must have ‘the mind of Christ’ and be “treue Seelen Hirten” engaged in the “Seelen Zustand” of the students (GA2, pp. 122–123). This will bring about a true reform. Francke intensifies the rhetoric, and compares the slander against the university to the work of Satan, and the reform to promoting the kingdom of God. With two quotations from Paul (1 Cor 4:20 and Rom 14:17) he accentuates the true and inner quality of the university, which is not to be measured by outer standards alone, despite the success vaunted on the previous pages. ‘God’s kingdom does not consist in talk but in power’.

Aber wenn dieser äußerliche Seegen [sic] ohne den inneren und geistlichen Segen wäre, so würde derselbe zu Verbeßerung des allgemeinen Verderbens nichts helffen, weil das Reich Gottes weder in der guten Meinung, so die Menschen von seinem Werck haben, noch in der Menge der Menschen, noch in der leiblichen Versorgung mit eßen und trincken, noch in andern äußerlichen Dingen, sondern in der Krafft 1. Cor. IV. und in Gerechtigkeit Friede und Freude im heiligen Geist Rom. XIV. 17 besteht. Diß ist aber der rechte Segen bey hiesiger Universitaet, dadurch Gott geehret und denen Menschen aus ihren Verderben geholffen wird (GA2, p. 123).

Francke continues and explains how the inner quality of the university pertains to pastoral formation, which is “zum großen Vorthail nicht allein der studirenden Jugend sondern auch anderer Leute” (GA2, p. 124). He mentions books by his colleagues Joachim Justus Breithaupt and Freylinghausen,¹¹⁴ which are written in German and most useful for theologians facing the challenge of turning university lectures on ‘acroamatic theology’ into edifying discourse (GA2, p. 124).¹¹⁵ He also recommends Joachim Langes’ *Medicina Mentis* (1704) for philosophical reading, unburdened by speculative metaphysics (GA2, p. 124). Finally he emphasizes the importance of linguistic exercise and expertise based on reading the Bible in Hebrew and Greek.

Denn die Studiosi Theologiae werden hier beständig dazu gewehnet, daß sie sich nicht dafür halten dürffen, als ob sie hebräisch verstünden, wenn sie nicht die gantze hebräische Bibel vom Anfang biß zum Ende, nachdem sie in einem Collegio grammatico fundamentali erst den Grund geleget durch tractiret haben, zu deren öffterer Durchlesung sie nachgehends auch angehalten werden. Ingleichen werden sie vom Anfang ihres Studii Theologici zur fleißigen tractation

¹¹³ This statement could reflect the protest of the theology faculty in Halle to have a reformed professor of theology as their colleague, as the government in Berlin wanted. Marianne Taatz-Jacobi, *Erwünschte Harmonie, Die Gründung der Friedrichs-Universität Halle als Instrument brandenburg-preußischer Konfessionspolitik – Motive, Verfahren, Mythos (1680-1713)*, 2014, pp. 258–271.

¹¹⁴ Francke mentions Breithaupt’s *Theses Selectiores De Natura Theologiae* (1699) and Freylinghausen’s *Grundlegung der Theologie* (1703).

¹¹⁵ *Acroamatic theology* is the advanced level of Christian doctrine in contradistinction to catechetical theology. Zedler’s Universal-Lexicon, vol 43, p. 867.

des Griechischen Neuen Testaments, und dann auch der Griechischen version der LXX Dolmetscher angeführet (GA2, pp. 124–125).

The New Testament must be read thoroughly in Greek, the Old Testament in Hebrew and in the Septuagint translation.¹¹⁶ The theology student at Halle is trained to become a ‘true textual theologian’ – and thus realize the ideal set forth by Wolfgang Frantzius (1564–1628).¹¹⁷

3.10 MIMICKING PAUL

The second part of *Grosse Aufsatz* is rounded off with an assurance that the mentoring of the youth is based on scriptural guidelines (GA2, p. 128).¹¹⁸ Scripture here includes a deviation from the canonical collection (“Apostolische Richtschnur”), since Francke quotes from an apocryphal, or hagiographical source. The quotation is by far the longest in *Grosse Aufsatz*. It is presumably Francke’s own translation of a Latin extract of the *Virtutes Apostolicum* also known as the ‘Collection of Pseudo Abdias’,¹¹⁹ published in 1703 by Johann Albert Fabricius’ *Codex Apochryphus Novi Testamenti*.¹²⁰ Francke informs his reader that God carries out his work de-

¹¹⁶ Compare *Idea*, pp. 240–242

¹¹⁷ GA p. 125: “Daher man durch aus befinden wird, daß diejenigen, so in Halle studiret, der Grund-Sprachen wohl kundig, und wie Frantzius ein alter Wittenbergischer Theologus erfordert, rechte textuales Theologi werden”.

¹¹⁸ Guidelines for pastoral hodegetics can draw on other sources, but having scripture as the basis is preferable. This is Paul Anton’s argument in his commentary to the Pastoral Letters, to which I shall return in the third part.

¹¹⁹ For further informed insight on the *Entstehungsgeschichte* of the *Virtutes Apostolicum* see Els Rose’s article, “Abdias scriptor vitarum sanctorum apostolorum?” (2013). Rose argues that the attribution of the early medieval text collection to Abdias is an early modern construction begun in the sixteenth century by Wolfgang Lazius. Rose, *Abdias*, p. 231. Instead of the problematic title ‘collection of Pseudo-Abdias’ she suggests *Virtutes Apostolorum* as a better term for a collection of texts which in content, style and manuscript context is closer to hagiographic literature than to the New Testament Apocrypha. Rose, *Abdias*, pp. 227–228.

¹²⁰ “Abdiae Babylonis Historia Certaminis Apostolici in decem libros distributa, latinè, cum notis”, Fabricius, *Codex*, pp. 402–742. Fabricius’ edition of 1703 fits well with the year *Grosse Aufsatz* was written. Francke probably would have had access to *Virtutes Apostolicum* in Wolfgang Lazius’ edition *Abdiae Babyloniae Primi Episcopi Ab Apostolis Constituti* (1560), though it is more likely that he quotes from Fabricius’ edition, since it sparked a renewed interest in the *Virtutes* and was reviewed in the 1704 edition of Valentin Ernst Löscher’s *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, p. 265. Podczek supports this view. GA, p. 127, note 36.

spite worldly slander and disdain.¹²¹ He adds that this situation reminds him of Paul's words to the emperor Nero. "Ich erinnere mich hiebey, wie in der Historia Apostolica die Lehre Pauli, wie er sie dem Neroni solle vorgetragen haben, erzehlet wird" (GA2, p. 127). Francke's following quotation renders the greater part of the seventh paragraph in the extract of the *Virtutes Apostolicum*, where Paul is defending and displaying the validity and social responsibility of his teaching.¹²² In the Latin text in Fabricius' edition, from which Francke presumably quotes, the doctrinal defence is emphasized by thirteen sentences all beginning with "Docui" – 'I have learned', which thus comprise Paul's answer to Nero.¹²³ Let us consider Francke's quotation:

Ich habe gelehret (wie daselbst Paulus redend eingeführet) was den Frieden und die Liebe unter den Menschen aufrichtet, denn *ich habe gelehret*, daß die Menschen sich unter einander lieben sollen (Rom. XII. 10.) *ich habe gelehret*, daß sie einander mit Ehrerbietung sollen zuvorkommen (v. 10.) *ich habe gelehret*, daß die großen und reichen nicht stolz seyn, noch sich auff den ungewißen Reichthum verlassen, sondern auff Gott ihre Hoffnung setzen sollen (1. Timot. VI. 17.). *Ich habe* die Armen *gelehret*, daß sie in ihrer Dürfftigkeit frölich seyn sollen (2. Cor. VI. 10). Die mittelmäßiges Vermögens sind, *habe ich gelehret*, daß sie mit Nahrung und Kleidern vergnügt seyn sollen. *Ich habe gelehret*, daß die Eltern ihre Kinder in der Zucht und Vermahnung zum HErrn auffziehen sollen (Eph. VI. 4.). *Ich habe* die Kinder *gelehret*, daß sie ihren Eltern gehorchen, und ihren heilsamen Ermahnungen folgen sollen (Eph. VI. 1. Col. III. 20.). *Ich habe* die, welche zeitliche Güter besitzen und die Kauff-Handel [treiben] *gelehret*, daß Sie Schoß und Zoll redlich und aufrichtig geben sollen (Rom. XIII. 7). *Ich habe* die Weiber *gelehret*, daß sie ihre Männer lieben und dieselbe als ihre Herren ehren sollen (Eph. V. 22.33. Col. III. 18). *Ich habe* die Männer *gelehret*, daß sie ihren Weibern eben dieselbe Treue, die sie von ihnen fordern, erweisen sollen. Denn was der Mann an seinem ehebrecherischen Weibe ahndet, das straffet Gott, gleicher weise auch an dem Mann, so er die Ehe bricht (Ebr. XIII. 4). *Ich habe* ferner auch die Herren *gelehret*, daß sie mit ihren Knechten gelinder umgehen sollen (Eph. VI. 9. Col. IV. 1.). Die Knechte aber *habe ich gelehret*, daß sie ihren leiblichen Herrn als Gott den HErrn, mit aller Treue dienen sollen (Eph. VI. 5.) u.s.f." (GA2, p. 128, emphasis added).

¹²¹ GA2, p. 127: "Wie endlich aus einer guten in Gottes Wort gegründeten und auff eine recht gründliche Änderung und Beßerung der Menschen ziehlenden Lehre nichts anders erfolgen kann als eine rechtschaffene Beßerung bey allen denen, die solche Lehre in Sanfftmüt annehmen und sie in ihrem Hertzen pflantzen laßen: also hat auch Gott mit diesem Segen die Lehre vom wahren thätigen Christenthum, darauff unter unzehligen Lästungen und Schmähungen der Welt hieselbst beständig bedrungen worden, gezieret und gleichsam versiegelt".

¹²² Fabricius, *Codex*, p. 452–453. I refer to the second edition and the online accessible edition of *Codex Apochryphus Novi Testamenti* (1719).

¹²³ Fabricius, *Codex*, p. 452–453. The defence is rounded off with an assurance that the "doctrina" is given to Paul "non ab hominibus" but "per Jesum Christum". *Codex*, p. 453.

There are several points to make of this. First of all the message is uncontroversial, all points are richly supported with scriptural references, which mostly correspond with Fabricius' *Historia*. Secondly, it is apparently unproblematic for Francke to rehearse Paul's words on the basis of extra-canonical sources.¹²⁴ Thirdly Francke makes use of this passage to recapitulate the validity and the advantages of his own work. It is illustrative that a *Haustafel* topos¹²⁵ is applied in the quotation addressing eleven different groups.¹²⁶ Each group is introduced with the sentence "ich habe gelehret", which programmatically is repeated thirteen times (see my emphasis in the extract). The focus in the *Haustafel* is on manhood, addressed in the first three sentences, and the wealthy, merchants and traders. This emphasis chimes in with the message in Francke's sermon *Pflicht gegen den Armen*.¹²⁷ He maps the *Haustafel* structure onto his own project, and thus summarizes his doctrine and its social implications by adducing the words of Paul. Consider the following statement:

Allen diesen ietzo als aus Pauli Munde erzählte und in seinen Schrifften enthaltene Wahrheiten, nebst denen übrigen auch dahin gehörigen Stücken, sind bißhero unermüdet und allen Ernstes getrieben worden; so wird auch die studirende Jugend täglich dazu angewiesen, wie sie dieses alles aus einem rechten lauterem Grunde des Evangelii, nicht als eine Werckheiligkeit, sondern als eine nothwendige Glaubens Frucht lebenslang treiben, unnöthiges Gezänck aber, so zur Beßerung nicht dienet, vermeiden sollen (GA2, p. 128).

This way of using the 'Bible' shows Francke as a Bible virtuoso. The "als" in "Allen diesen ietzo als aus Pauli Munde erzählte" indicates the unbiblical origin of the words, but also an openness to the idea that Paul could well have spoken them, hence, of course, the scriptural references.

¹²⁴ In 1715 an anonymous German translation of (extracts of) *Virtutes Apostolicum* was issued under the title "*Von der Historia Des Apostolischen Kampfss Zehen Bücher*" and met with criticism. Whether the critique was founded on the content, or the quality of the Latin translations, is not completely clear to me (the wording of the passage Francke translates is very different). The following year, one of Francke's former students and member of the *Collegium orientale theologicum*, Johann Gustav Reinbeck, wrote a critical review of the German translation, which he asserted was the work of the controversial Johann Georg Gichtel. Reinbeck's review was entitled *Christliches Bedencken Über den in teutscher Sprache unlängst edirten Abdiam Babylonium*.

¹²⁵ Hermann von Lips argues that the *Haustafel* is a paraenetical topos, rather than a genre in New Testament and early Patristic texts. See "Die Haustafel als *Topos* im Rahmen der urchristlichen Paränese. Beobachtungen anhand des 1. Petrusbriefes und des Titusbriefes," 2012, p. 214.

¹²⁶ 1: All ("Menschen"), 2: The rich and influential ("großen und reichen"), 3: The poor, 4: Those of middle income ("mittelmäßiges Vermögens"), 5: Parents, 6: Children, 7: The affluent business men, 8: The married women, 9: The married men, 10: Masters and 11: Servants.

¹²⁷ See part one.

Authenticity is not the decisive criterion: the edifying and paraenetical message is what is needful for the daily instruction of the youth of Halle. The combination of theological teaching, paraenetical instruction and universal social responsibility is not “Werckheiligkeit” but a necessary “Glaubens Frucht”. This is what Francke associates with good Lutheranism.¹²⁸

After the long extract from *Virtutes Apostolorum*, the third chapter of GA2 comes to an end. A short passage, easily overlooked, is added with a summary of previous points and an allusion to ‘an old theologian.’ This unnamed luminary had served God from his youth and had been looking for a place where he could assist and do good (GA2, pp. 128–129). Francke relates that the ‘old theologian’ visited Halle, and here found what he was looking for, a place without comparison, which is why he frequently admonished Francke to be grateful for what God had granted.

[E]in alter Theologus, der von Jugend auff Gott gedienet, und mit vieler Bemühung in manchen Ländern auffgesuchet, wo nur etwas gutes zu finden seyn möchte, auch in seinen wichtigen Aembtern selbst alle Mittel und Wege etwas gutes auszurichten versuchet, nachdem er hieher kommen, und eines nach dem andern gnugsam in Augenschein genommen, uns mit großen Ernst bezeuget, daß er dergleichen als er hie finde, zwar sehr gesucht, aber nicht den Schatten davon gefunden (...) daher er uns öffters mit beweglich ermahnet, diese große Gnade und Barmhertzigkeit mit Danck zuerkennen, auch sich selbst selig gepriesen, daß er dieses vor seinem Ende noch gesehen, welches er zu sehen nimmer gehoffet hätte. (GA2, pp. 128–129).

We do not know who this ‘old theologian’ is, but according to Podczeck, it could be Andreas Stiefels or Stübel (1653–1725). Podczeck further suggests that Francke could be alluding to a specific text that he had written in 1698 and addressed to Francke. This text is entitled *Posaunen-Stimme an August Hermann Francke (Posaunen)*.¹²⁹ It is difficult to confirm or prove Podczeck’s conjecture wrong.¹³⁰ More interesting is it, however, that Andreas Stiefels’ text brings out important aspects of Francke’s mimicry of Pauline authority. It also shows an interesting perspective on the reform

¹²⁸ See my analysis of *Pflicht gegen den Armen*, in part one.

¹²⁹ Andreas Stiefels, *Erhobene Posaunen-Stimme an August Hermann Francke*, 1698.

¹³⁰ References to Stiefels in the literature on Halle Pietism are few. He is mentioned neither by Peschke nor by Kramer. In fact, the only reference to Stiefels in secondary sources that I have come across is Podczeck’s. In the article in *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, we learn that Stiefels was a theologian and a philologist from Dresden, who ended his days at Leipzig. He immersed himself in the study of the Book of Revelation, defended the doctrine of the millenium and discussed the ascension of Elijah. He was interested in comets, signs and the calculation of the end of all times. He wrote “Streitschriften” against Johann Friedrich Mayer and Albert Christian Roth, and addressed a letter in Latin to the papal nuncio. See “Stiefels” in *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, Christian Gottlieb Jöcher (ed), vol 4 1751.

project from an ‘outside insider’. It seems appropriate to present, in an excursus, a reading of Stiefels’ text.

EXCURSUS: TRUMPET VOICES AND APOCALYPTIC MIRRORS

If the ‘old theologian’ mentioned in GA2 (pp. 128–129) refers to Andreas Stiefels, it is remarkable that no indication of conflict is conveyed. Moreover, if Francke was alluding to Stiefels’ text, his reaction to it is remarkably controlled. Here I shall go along with Podcizek’s conjecture of an “Anspielung auf Stiefels” (GA2, p. 129). The allusion is actually misleading, since Podcizek does not mention the clearly polemical context of Stiefels’ text.

In GA, Francke relates that a theologian visited Halle and found what he had longed to see, which is why he admonishes Francke to count his blessings. It is also mentioned that the old theologian has travelled the world and “in seinen wichtigen Aemtern selbst alle Mittel und Wege etwas gutes auszurichten versucht” (quoted above). Having read Stiefels’ *Posaunen-Stimme an August Hermann Francke* (1698) and a letter sent to Francke the same year,¹³¹ we get a rather different impression. The *Posaunenstimme* confirms that Stiefels paid a visit to Halle and that he approved of the reform project, which, at the time, was when the building of the orphanage was just begun. Stiefels also mentions disagreement with Francke over the way in which he directs his work. The disagreement or disappointment may very well be caused by Stiefels’ attempt to make good use of his “wichtigen Aemtern”, but without further success. In any case, the *Posaunenstimme* shows an ambiguous attitude to the work in Halle and a hysterical battle over prophetic authority.¹³² Stiefels is both a sympathizer and an opponent. The entire trip to and stay in Halle is presented as a prophetic event, and Stiefels’s censure is staged as an apocalyptic assessment of Francke’s work. Stiefels thus gives Francke a dose of his own medicine; he too made prophetic claims and contemporized the biblical message to support them.

Mimicking Francke

The *Posaunen-Stimme* runs to 33 paragraphs.¹³³ The first is entitled “Von Christ und meinen Reisen”, which recounts the author’s journey from Leipzig to Halle. He arrives in Halle on 7 July 1698 with the intention of

¹³¹ See Stiefels’ letter to Francke: Stübel an Francke [8.11.1698], signature AFST: Stab F 20 2 12.

¹³² See Stiefels’ letter to Francke: Stübel an Francke [8.11.1698]

¹³³ There are no page numbers, which is why I refer to paragraphs or page numbers in squared brackets.

speaking with Francke, one schoolman to another. Unfortunately Francke is too busy and Stiefels is left in the company of Francke's associates with whom he discusses difficult scripture verses.¹³⁴ The author has represented himself as an educated man with much teaching experience. He has composed famous compendia on Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and some of them, he claims, are used for teaching at Francke's orphanage schools.¹³⁵ Stiefels is willing to offer expert advice on matters concerning erudition, schooling and piety. He is generally in favour of Francke's reform, but has reservations, not in regard to the degree of piety but in regard to knowledge and erudition.¹³⁶ He is certainly not pleased by having to wait for an interview with Francke. He therefore mimics Francke's way of mimicking the words of Christ according to Jn 9:4¹³⁷ to show that he is equally important and his time equally precious.

Allein ich übergehe dieses und beruffe mich 1) eben sowohl als Hr. M. Francke/ da er vielleicht seine Sache also zu legitimiren meynet / auff einen Göttlichen Trieb/ und wie er Christi Wort sich zur Unterschrift seiner letzt herausgegebenen Schul-Tabelle zu eignet / so sage ich nicht weniger mit Christo und mit ihm: Ich muß wircken die Wercke des / der mich gesandt hat / so lang es Tag ist; Es kömpt die Nacht / da niemand wircken kan. Joh 9,4 [*Posaunen-Stimme*, p. 4].¹³⁸

This is one of many examples of Stiefels' deliberately imitating Francke's words, and he is very clear about this tactic. He informs his reader that he heard two of Francke's sermons on contrition, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, during his stay at Halle.¹³⁹ As a matter of fact, the title of Stiefels' text recycles a quotation from Isa 58:1, which Francke cited in one of his contrition sermons. "Cry aloud; do not hold back; lift up your voice like a trumpet; declare to my people their transgression, to the house of Jacob their sins." (Isa 58:1). The encouragement

¹³⁴ Stiefels, *Posaunen-Stimme*, §4

¹³⁵ Stiefels, *Posaunen-Stimme*, §24 "Meine Grammaticken/ als Latinismus, Græcismus und Hebraismus in nuce geben grossen Vortheil".

¹³⁶ Stiefels, *Posaunen-Stimme*, §21 "Die Meynung wegen der Gottseligkeit ist gut, weiß nicht wie die wegen der Gelehrsamkeit."; §25 "Die gelehrten Heydnischen Schulbücher sind nicht zu verwerffen."

¹³⁷ Compare with my analysis of GA1.

¹³⁸ The school table Stiefels refers to is an outline of the work, its schools and manufacturing business, on which the words of Jn 9:4 are printed. John 9:4 is also the last words in the seventh and last continuation of *Fußstapfen*, p. 462 and GA1. See my analysis above.

¹³⁹ The first sermon expounded the biblical Rev 2:5 and the second Ps 55:20. Stiefels, *Posaunen-Stimme*, §4. I have managed to locate the first: "Von den Höchst-nöthigen Buß-Bedancken bey herannahenden Göttl. Berichten", in: *Buß=Predigten Über verschiedene Texte der Heil.Schrift*. 1699, pp. 176–205. A first reading of the sermon confirms Stiefels' quotations and references.

to “lift up your voice like a trumpet” was taken very seriously by Stiefels in deciding to publish his “Streitschriften”.¹⁴⁰

On the front of his *Posaunen-Stimme*, five words are quoted from Rev 2:5: “Gedencke/ wovon du gefallen bist”. These words are a key to understanding the text. They are used as an accusation against Francke, that he has abandoned his first love, has fallen and must repent. At the same time, they are lifted from the contrition sermon that Francke delivered in Glaucha on the 8 July 1698, while Stiefels was in town. Let us first have a look at the biblical context. Chapters two and three in the Book of Revelation comprises seven letters to seven angels of seven churches in Asia Minor, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. Francke and Stiefels consider these letters as pastoral assessments of churches, and call them ‘church mirrors’. The church mirror with which Stiefels measures Halle is the first of the seven, the letter to Ephesus.

(1) To the angel of the church in Ephesus write: These are the words of him who holds the seven stars in his right hand, who walks among the seven golden lampstands: (2) ‘I know your works, your toil and your patient endurance. I know that you cannot tolerate evildoers; you have tested those who claim to be apostles but are not, and have found them to be false. (3) I also know that you are enduring patiently and bearing up for the sake of my name, and that you have not grown weary. (4) But I have this against you, that you have abandoned the love you had at first. (5) Remember then from what you have fallen; repent, and do the works you did at first. If not, I will come to you and remove your lampstand from its place, unless you repent (Rev 2:1–5).

Stiefels agrees with Francke and sees all seven letters as mirrors and means of judging churches.¹⁴¹ Each parishioner must ask himself whether he is closer to the first or the last angel, i.e. church.

[U]nd also muß dergleichen Schrifft an Sie noch heutiges Tages einer ieden zu seinen Dienst außgerüsteten Person als ein Spiegel seyn / seinen Zustand darnach wohl zu betrachten und sich zu spiegeln / ob er mehr dem ersten oder dem letzten oder sonst einem von den 7. Engeln gleiche nach gewissen Umständen. (*Posaunen-Stimme*, p. 7),

The church mirror of Ephesus is apt for a “Bau des Christenthums” and an ideal for all churches. It is illustrative that Stiefels – like Francke – sees Halle as an ‘Ephesus’ – ‘a place for praying,’ as he adds. He writes:

Die Stadt Halla [sic] und das daran liegende Glauche [sic] ist / wie alle Christliche Gemeinen / anzusehen als ein Ephesus, das ist / als ein locus desiderii, ein Bet-

¹⁴⁰ See Stiefels’ letter to Francke: Stübel an Francke [8.11.1698].

¹⁴¹ The idea of the seven “Epistolae apocalypticae” in Rev 2–3 as Pastoral means for judging churches occurs, in elaborated form, in the two preliminary lectures by Paul Anton, *Exegetische Abhandlung*, vol 2, pp. 511–542. See part three for more on this commentary.

Haus / da man sein Verlangen durch fleissiges Gebet bey GOtt ausschüttet (ἔφεσις notat appetitum, desiderium)¹⁴² [*Posaunen-Stimme*, p. 9].

After sharing the idea of Halle as a contemporary Ephesus, Stiefels adds that the following Biblical verses also apply to it. In Rev 2: 4-6 the disclaimer is formulated: “But I have that against you...” Stiefels explains that even the “Kinder Gottes” can fall [p. 10], which is why Francke must test himself (‘hat sich zu prüfen’) and repent. The verdict on Halle thus turns out to be ambiguous. The work is good, but Francke has abandoned his first love and has yet to repent. As we shall see, the problem behind the prophetic foil is that Francke, in Stiefels’ view, is too occupied with business outside his vocation as a minister and an educator.¹⁴³

First of all, Stiefels is dismayed at the omission of the classics in the curriculum for the orphanage schools, and at finding that French is taught. The problem is not the care taken of the orphans, but the higher education on offer in the orphanage schools. If Francke had stopped at charity, he would not have abandoned his first love, but since he offers higher education, his work is no longer unimpeachable.

Zwar hat hr. M. Francke anfangs sich bloß der Armen und Wäisen erbarmet / sie aufgenommen und gepfleget / und damit hat er niemanden Schaden gethan; sondern vielmehr / weil solche Kinder von der Welt verlassen gewesen / er aber ein Werck der Barmhertzigkeit erwiesen / so hat der Allerhöchste Gott solches ihm allerdings wohlgefällige Werck gefördert und gesegnet / so daß auch von andern erwecketen Gutthätern viel gutes beygetragen worden. (...) Wäre nun Hr. M. Francke schlechterdings bey dieser ersten Liebe geblieben / so daß er sich nur umb das Armuth bekümmert hätte / so wäre seyn [sic] Wandel und seine Anstalt untadelhafftig und möchte sein gutes Exempel der wahren Christlichen Liebe / da nicht der geringste Vortheil / zeitliche Ehre und Eigennutz gesucht würde / auch andere zur Nachfolge reitzen und auffmuntern [*Posaunen-Stimme*, pp. 21–22].

Stiefels’ displeasure concerns the high tariff rates, which are far beyond what he himself charges. Francke is taking away the living from other teachers – and thus from Stiefels.¹⁴⁴ As for the language teaching, Stiefels

¹⁴² According to *Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek English Dictionary*, ἔφεσις, from ἐφίεμαι, has the meaning ‘aiming at a thing,’ ‘appetite’, ‘desire’.

¹⁴³ Stiefels, *Posaunen-Stimme* [pp. 16–18].

¹⁴⁴ Stiefels: *Posaunen-Stimme*, [p. 23]: “Aber hier machet man ja den Anschlag auff Leute / die etwas haben / so hoch / als ich ihn in Leipzig niemahls gemacht. Vors andere schadet ihm Hr. M. Francke damit selbst / und da er sonst gnug zu sorgen und zuverwalten hat / ladet er auff sich noch mehr Verantwortung vor GOTT / schwächt seine eigene Kräfte / hindert seine nöthigen Wercke / und machet ihm viel vergebliche Unruhe. Vors dritte ärgert er Schulbediente dadurch gar sehr / welche da sie sehen / daß ihnen der bissen Brod/ der vor sie gehöret / entzogen wird / auch wohl darauff kommen und gerathen möchten / daß sie auff die Art /wie ein andrer frey die Kinder an sich ziehen darff / sie hingegen Bürger und Erwachsene zu sich kriegen / und das ihnen thun /was sonst bloß der Kirchen-Diener ihr Ampt ist”.

recommends that French lessons be discontinued. It is enough to teach the four main languages: German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew suffice, which emerge like the four rivers from the garden of Eden.¹⁴⁵ As for the classics, he defends the classical curriculum and the various themes it covers. These are particularly useful for the formation of the political authorities, and as an antidote to French pernickiness.¹⁴⁶

In order to amend the educational deficiency, Stiefels recommends his own compendia. The very idea of having his works improved and republished is disrupted by an affectionate exclamation, followed by praise of God and an assurance to the reader as to the content of his books; they are full of “Göttliche und himmelische Warheiten” [sic].¹⁴⁷ This digression into self-recommendation, praise of God and the boast of adhering to a divine course challenges the author’s ethos. It is nevertheless the same as Francke’s claims; recall the statement to his parishioners ‘if you had the mind of Christ, you would do like me’.¹⁴⁸

The criticism voiced by Stiefels is surrounded by contradiction. He claims that Francke has ‘abandoned his first love’ by offering high level teaching in the orphanage schools. At the same time, he recommends his own knowledge and school books for bettering the quality of education. Since Stiefels did not succeed in getting hold of Francke – nor was offered a position as an inspector – he changes his strategy. The professional reflections on education turn into an apocalyptic evaluation and prophetic judgment on Francke’s reform. His strong recommendation of the classical languages and classical authors corresponds with Francke’s own complaint about the rudimentary knowledge of his student teachers. Francke had the professor of rhetoric and history, Christoph Cellarius, commissioned to teach the preceptors.¹⁴⁹ Perhaps Stiefels could have had a similar position or in fact was applying for one.

¹⁴⁵ Stiefels, *Posaunen-Stimme* [pp. 25–26]

¹⁴⁶ Stiefels, *Posaunen-Stimme* [p. 29]: “Wer darinnen einen nähern und klügern Weg durch Gottes Segen gewiesen / der wird billich gehöret und angenommen. Und wenn denn Hr. M Francke künfftig hohe Häupter aufferziehen solte / so ist kein besserer Rath / als daß sie in der Jugend nächst dem Worte Gottes auch Homerum, Herodotum, Herodianum, Thucydidem, Dionysium Halicarnasenseum, Polybium, Appianum, Virgilium, Claudianum, Terentium, Ciceronem, Aurelium Victorem, Corn. Nepotem, Justinum, Jul. Cæsarem, Svetonium, Florum, Livium, Curtium, Tacitum, Senecam &c. gewiesen werden / weil dieses gute Rathgeber seyn / und einem Politico besser aufstehen / als alle Politische Maulaffen und die Frantzösische Klügeley und Spitzfindigkeit darauff man bißher gar viel gehalten hat.”

¹⁴⁷ Stiefels, *Posaunen-Stimme* [p. 27].

¹⁴⁸ See part one and the analysis of *Pflicht gegen den Armen*.

¹⁴⁹ See above.

Stiefels' text is a charged eyewitness account of on-going events in Halle in 1698. It adds a comparative aspect to Francke's acrobatic use of the Bible. Stiefels mimics Francke, using the same claim of authority and the same verses of Scripture to support the claim. He thus sees himself as on the same level of authority as Francke, but would Francke take offence at this? There is no straight answer to the question: but if Podczeck's assumption is right, that Francke is alluding – and, we should add, responding – to Stiefels' text, we have an indication. The 'old theologian' is shown respect. He is treated as a sympathizer, not an opponent. Francke even brings harmony to the record of the visit to Halle; no indication of a conflict is mentioned. Perhaps Francke understood, or could identify with, Stiefels' critique.

Francke had a history of making prophetic assessments, and in 1696, his relationship with Spener suffered a crisis.¹⁵⁰ Francke's investment in Pauline authority kept colliding with Spener's cautious and diplomatic approach.¹⁵¹ In their exchange of letters, Spener called Francke "Der Paulus von Glaucha"¹⁵² – and time after time he got him out of scrapes with the authorities. From the crisis with Spener in 1696, via Stiefels' animadversions in 1698 to Francke's *Grosse Aufsatz* in 1704, Francke had learned moderation and diplomatic skill.¹⁵³ Such a skill might perhaps be reflected in the tolerant attitude to 'the old theologian'. Such a skill could probably also reflect a more moderate assessment of Pauline authority, like the evocation of 'Paul's words' in the long quotation from the *Virtutes Apostolicum*.

3.11 BIBLE BUSINESS

The fourth and fifth chapters of GA2 (pp. 130–155) complete the outline of the reform project with practical details. They summarize previous points and draw attention to how the project, its schools, institutions and industry can be assisted, supported and amplified. I have incorporated the practical details given in these chapters in my analysis of the first three chapters of GA2, and shall therefore not go through them meticulously but instead look into one example, the proposal to mass produce Bibles. I have chosen this example for several reasons: first of all we can track the devel-

¹⁵⁰ Udo Sträter: "Spener und August Hermann Francke", in *HF23*, pp. pp. 89–104.

¹⁵¹ Sträter, *Spener/Francke*, p. 91.

¹⁵² Sträter, *Spener/Francke*, p. 92.

¹⁵³ Sträter, *Spener/Francke*, p. 104: "Daß auch Francke gelernt hat, strategisch zu denken und auf dem politischen Klavier zu spielen, ist sicher Spener zu verdanken. Über drei Krisen hat Spener Francke hinweggeholfen. Als Friedrich III. starb und sein Nachfolger dem Pietismus kritisch begegnen wollte, wußte Francke, was Reich-Gottes-Diplomatie ist."

opment of the idea from 1704, when it was outlined in GA; later it was modified in the B-manuscript of 1709, and finally realized in 1710 in close collaboration with Canstein.¹⁵⁴

Canstein was a real and an ideal reader of *Grosse Aufsatz*: that is, one who joins forces with Francke and becomes an instrument and a co-worker in the orphanage industry. His collaboration, in general and in regard to the Bible Institute, testifies to the way Francke preferred to do business, being discreetly in charge.¹⁵⁵ The idea of producing Bibles was a feasible business proposition, since the product was evidently full of good purposes and profitable. Nor did the business require discretion, as did Francke's plans on trading.¹⁵⁶ On the contrary, the rational capitalist organization of the production was a strength and a business advantage.¹⁵⁷ Finally the idea of printing Bibles is an example of co-authorship in *Grosse Aufsatz*. The suggestion was not made by Francke, but by the third protagonist in the Bible business, the initiator of the orphanage press and bookshops, Georg Heinrich Elers.¹⁵⁸ He wrote out the plan to print Bibles with "Stehende Lettern" mentioned in GA2 pp. 148–153.¹⁵⁹ This printing technique meant that the typesetting blocks remained in their template frames. Normally the blocks would be dismantled, reset and reused for printing other text. Each page in

¹⁵⁴ Canstein was a central figure for several reasons. He was one of Francke's most generous supporters; he lent funds to Francke long before the idea was proposed in GA3. More on the capital loans will follow in GA3. The loan significantly was never reimbursed but given as a gift. Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁵ Hinrichs argues that Francke's collaboration with Canstein was an important context for this revision of GA and the new way Francke would do business – *through* Canstein. *Preußentum*, p. 79. He recounts an episode that indicates how this worked and how Canstein was a cover for the business and the trading of the orphanage industry. A former student of Francke, Adelung Anhard (-1745), embarrassed Canstein by indiscreetly recommending the 'Orphanage's Hungary wine' to a noble lady in Berlin. Canstein corrects Adelung. He should have referred to Canstein's, not the Orphanage's, wine. Hinrichs, *Preußentum*, p. 84.

¹⁵⁶ See the analysis of GA3.

¹⁵⁷ I use the phrase 'rational capitalist organization' with reference to Weber. He employs it to describe a pre-capitalistic yet highly developed rationality. It is the same rational organization as in more modern times, only at an earlier stage and applied for other purposes than profit for the sake of profit. See Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, pp. 14–20. The idea is in a continuum with Gerhard Bondi's notion of an early "Entwicklungsstadium der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise" Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 34. See also the analysis of GA3.

¹⁵⁸ The Bible Institute is testimony of a strong collaboration between Francke, Elers, and Canstein. The fourth protagonist was Johann Heinrich Grischow (1678–1754), who managed the Canstein Bible Institute. See Hans-Joachim Kertscher, "Die Franckeschen Stiftungen und ihre Druckereien", webpage (see the bibliography).

¹⁵⁹ Elers was the author of "Acta Die Buchhandlung und Druckerey betr. de Anno 1704" parts of which were incorporated into GA. Podczek, GA, p. 148, note 19.

the Bible thus had its own template frame with fixed typesetting blocks. The idea survives in two versions, a longer text of 1704 and a tightened B-version from 1709 (GA2 pp. 150–15). I shall quote the entire B-version and an extract of the A-version.

B-version 1709

Man kann die teutsche Bibel in einem bequemen Format drucken laßen und anstatt, da bishero nur ein Bogen gesezet, und darnach, wenn derselbe abgedruckt ist, diese Lettern wieder auseinander genommen, und zum übrigen Gebrauch weiter angewendet worden, schaffet man bey dieser Edirung die Buchstaben in solcher Menge an, daß ein jeder Bogen in einem dazu angerichteten Behältniß stehen bleibt; so kann man, wenn die Lettern einmal gesezet sind, nach und nach etliche 100 000 Exemplaria von denenselben ehe sie abgenutzt werden, abdrucken, und wenn in dem ersten Abdruck etwas zu corrigiren vorfällt, kann es in dem andern und nachfolgenden ohne Mühe corrigiret werden. Hierdurch wird des Sezer Lohn (wenn es einmal gesezet ist) und was jedes mal pro correctura zu geben, ersparet, und gebraucht keiner weitem Unkosten, als was zu Papier und Druckerlohn erfordert wird. Man gewinnt ferner die Zeit; da man bisher fast Jahr und Tag arbeiten müßen, ehe man etwa 5000 Exemplaria verfertigen können. Man erhält eine accurate Bibel. Die Armen, so sich bishero beschwert, sie können wegen des hohen Preises sich keine anschaffen, bekommen eine wohlfeile Bibel; und endlich kann man viele Städte und Länder mit solcher obbenannten Bibel nach und nach anfüllen. Die hiezu benöthigten Buchstaben möchten etwan sich auf 3 bis 4000 Reichthaler belaufen (GA2, p. 150, B-version).

Elers calculates how many times the typesetting blocks can be reused, and also that the salary of the compositor only needs to be paid once. Most important is that it saves a great deal of time and ensures a cheap and accurate Bible edition. Finally he mentions the expenses for getting the business started.

A-version 1704

Durch diesen Weg kan es auch geschehen, daß sie in gar einen civilen Preyß verkaufft werde, damit niemand, auch nicht die Armen sich beschweren können, sie könnten wegen des theuren Preyßes sich keine Bibel anschaffen. Die hier zu benöthigte Lettern werden etwan drey bis vier tausend Thaler kosten, da denn das hinein gewandte Capital der Lettern allemal stehen bleibt, weil die Lettern in vielen Jahren nicht abgenutzt werden, und wenn sie endlich abgenutzt sind, bleibt doch der meiste Theil des Capitals in dem vorhanden seyenden Zeuge. Wie nun zuvörderst hieraus ein sonderlicher Segen der gantzen Christenheit erwachsen wird zum Heyl vieler Seelen; So haben auch nicht weniger die hiesigen Anstalten alßdenn nicht einen geringen Nutzen davon zu erwarten: Weil der Buchladen sodann das für die Bibeln einkommende gar wohl (ohne Zerreißung des hinein gewandten Capitals) zum Nutzen der Anstalten her geben kan (GA2, pp. 150–151).

In the A-version, the same explanation is given, that this printing technique will keep the expenses down and thus the price low enough for the

poor to buy Bibles. Once the capital for the investment is secured, the business will not only serve ‘all Christendom’, it will also be profitable for the reform project in Halle. Both the A and B versions show, each in its way, how business, printing Bibles and profit are united. The B-version reflects a pecuniary interest and the wish to save money on the expenses on compositors and proof-readers.¹⁶⁰ The A-version directly mentions the profit of the Bible business as a benefit for the orphanage organization.¹⁶¹ In both versions we see a well-organized and rationalized administration of the production.

In 1710, similar formulations occurred in a text written by Canstein.¹⁶² It was drafted the same year as the Bible Institute was founded.¹⁶³ The idea of a Bible business, rationally organized, thus went from mouth to mouth and hand to hand without need of censorship, since Bibles were legitimate business objects. After Canstein’s death in 1719, the Bible Institute was taken over by Francke’s administrators.¹⁶⁴

In 1709 an extract of *Grosse Aufsatz* was made for Queen Sophia Louise (1685–1735), the third wife of the Prussian king Friedrich I. The extract omitted the plans for commercial trading, but included the plans for the Bible business.¹⁶⁵ The queen was said to be more interested in devotion than business, which seems a reasonable explanation of the omission of most parts of GA3 in her extract.¹⁶⁶ Yet the plans for printing Bibles show a ra-

¹⁶⁰ The rationality in the B-version makes Bartz claim that the same Weberian rationality of Puritanism is evident in Halle Pietism. Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, p. 50

¹⁶¹ Arthur Schürmann mistakenly assumed that Francke omitted the part of Elers’ proposal which mentioned the profits of the Bible business. *Zur Geschichte der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses und der Cansteinschen Bibelanstalt in Halle an Saale, zur zweihundertjährigen Jubelfeier der Frankeschen Stiftungen*, 1898, p. 37. The mistake is probably due to Schürmann’s use of Friis’ edition of *Grosse Aufsatz*, which confuses and conflates the different manuscripts. See Podczeck’s critique of this edition, GA, pp. 26–28. The mistake, nevertheless, shows an innate reluctance to associating a production of the Bible with profit.

¹⁶² Carl Hildebrand von Canstein: *Ohnmaßgebenden Vorschlag, wie Gottes Wort den Armen zur Erbauung um einen geringen Preis in die Hände zu bringen sei*, Berlin 1710.

¹⁶³ Klosterberg calls it the world’s first Bible Institute. *Kommerz*, p. 159.

¹⁶⁴ From 1720 to 1735 the business flourished, and in 1733, Gotthilf August Francke (1696–1769) obtained the right and royal privilege to have two printing presses on the orphanage premises. Schürmann, *Buchhandlung*, pp. 56–57. Klosterberg points out that from 1733, both the Bible and the hymn book for the Prussian army were published by the orphanage press. *Kommerz*, p. 172.

¹⁶⁵ The title of the extract reused the title of chapter 5 in GA2, p. 140: ‘How to extend the ground God has built, and search for a fundamental authentic improvement of the corrupted conditions, on the exact same course, on which divine providence has shown itself; not only in the Evangelical Church but everywhere in the world’.

¹⁶⁶ Podczeck, GA, p. 18. See also my analysis of GA3.

tional capitalist organization. The only difference from the other business propositions was that Bibles were impeccable theological and devotional products. The extract made for the Queen was not without its own economic success, since she donated money to support the Bible business.¹⁶⁷

To sum up: the second part of GA is by far the most exhaustive. The themes to which I have drawn attention more or less follow the progression in Francke's exposition. He opened the section with complaints about the corruption of society. Then he moved on to present a solution to the problem in terms of the university and the orphanage. Finally he rounds off with suggestions on how the supporters can help amplify the reform movement, and this is where the third and last part takes over. The first part strove to implant in the reader a clear concept of the reform project; the second part contained all the detail; the third part finally reveals 'the actual project,' as this part is entitled.

¹⁶⁷ Schürmann, *Buchhandlung*, p. 38

GA3

4.1 GA PART THREE

The third part of GA is the shortest but also the most controversial part. It takes up the business ideas introduced in GA1, and elaborates on how capital loans and commercial business enterprise may benefit the reform project. The suggestions on how to raise funds involves a rational capitalist organization of the work, Christian negotiators and support from Francke's readers.¹ These plans were omitted in the later manuscript editions.² This raises the question, did Francke regret or refrain from doing business or find new ways of doing it, discreetly or secretly?

It is no surprise that Christian charity depends on gifts, voluntary support and patronage. Besides, Francke had made it publicly known that his reform project was protected and privileged by the authorities in Berlin. The reform had its own publishing house, bookshop and apothecary's shop. Francke even applied for permission to expand the manufacturing business into shipping, a paper mill, a glass factory and a Bible Institute.³ The goal was to become self-supporting and thus not dependant on the unpredictable income from donations.⁴ Autonomy was one goal, another was a rational administration of the work. The reform project had both a good chance of becoming self-supporting and a devoted team of administrators. In addition to this it was under divine and royal patronage, and planted in the rich and prosperous soil of Halle. Among Francke's supporters were experienced businessmen. They recommended wholesale trading and capital loans. Why not, if it is in favour of the special work in Halle? This question, why not accept business trading as means to support a Christian industry, is the main burden of GA3. It was briefly introduced in the first part and it is further developed in the third. Francke argues that it is necessary to establish a clear idea of the work. As the readers reach GA3, this idea is firmly rooted, and he can therefore move on to the 'actual project', as GA3 is entitled: "Das eigentliche Project, wie diejenigen, so zeitliches Vermögen haben, dem Wercke die Hand Bieten können" (GA3, pp. 157–163).

I read GA3 as the apogee of GA. If we take the development in the later manuscripts into account, the omission of most parts of this, the climax of

¹ See the footnote in the previous section.

² The sections on business and trading in GA1 pp. 61 line 31– 63 line 16, and GA3 (pp. 160 line 17 – 163 line 11) only appear in the 1704 version. In the later revisions of 1709, 1711 and 1716 they are omitted.

³ Klosterberg, *Kommerz*, pp. 158–159. Hinrichs, *Preußentum*, pp. 69–88, Deppermann, *Pietismus*, pp. 100–108.

⁴ Klosterberg, *Kommerz*, p. 158. See the previous section for further references.

GA, puts us in a quandary. Can a Christian industry be supported by profit from trading? Furthermore, what is the best way for Francke to sell this idea to his supporters? The omission in the later manuscripts shows that Francke changed his strategy for presenting his business ideas, not that he refrained from realizing them. In the following section, I shall present the short text of GA3 and the way that Francke sought support for ideas based on a rational capitalist organization of work. First I shall give a short account of Gerhard Bondi's analysis, which is informative for GA3, and an important source for my interpretation.

The former professor of economics at Halle, Gerhard Bondi (1911-1966) gives us insights into the relations between Halle Pietism, the economy and the early development of capitalism. In his article, "Der Beitrag des hallischen Pietismus zur Entwicklung des ökonomischen Denkens in Deutschland", he claims, on the one hand, that Halle Pietism had an impact on the economic development of Germany; on the other hand, that seventeenth-century Germany did not contribute to the development of economic theory.⁵ This claim makes sense because of Bondi's distinction between a political economy, informed by theories, and a civil economy rooted in religious praxis.⁶ The idea of an economy drawn from the "Bereiche des geistigen Lebens" chimes in with Halle Pietism as well as the argument Max Weber famously set out in his *Protestantische Ethik*. It is highly unlikely that Bondi was unaware of Weber's work, but for some reason, he never mentions him. In fact the omission of Weber makes his argument easier to grasp, since he avoids a number of loopholes in the discussion of Weber and Pietism. I shall make my remarks concerning these matters in a short digression, and thus avoid an indigestible footnote.

Weber's thesis⁷ is fascinating but also impossible to work with. His historical and theological reflections are, in regard to German Pietism, impre-

⁵ Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 24: "Die eigentümliche deutsche Entwicklung, die keine Grundlage für die Entstehung einer politischen Ökonomie auf deutschem Boden hervorbrachte, hat dazu geführt, daß bürgerliches ökonomisches Denken seinen eigentlichen Ausdruck nicht in der ökonomischen Theorie fand, sondern, eingebettet in die verschiedensten Bereiche des geistigen Lebens, sich in manchmal unerwarteten Zusammenhängen präsentiert. Einen solchen Fall haben wir in den Auffassungen des hallischen Pietismus, wie sie von seinem geistigen Haupt, August Hermann Francke, formuliert und verkündet wurden."

⁶ Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 45. He mentions the "Theoretiker des Merkantilsystems, vor allem in England".

⁷ Max Weber: *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*. See also Hartmut Lehman: „Max Webers Pietismusinterpretation“, 1996, pp. 50–65.

cise, but nevertheless, if adjusted, astute and stimulating.⁸ Much of the ambiguity in his thesis pertains to the introduction of an ideal type.⁹ The ideal type lends weight and superiority to Puritanism, and the theological impetus it develops on behalf of its interpretation of predestination.¹⁰ Yet there are other historical examples of protestant ascetic movements¹¹ – and Weber admits that the ethical impetus identified in Puritanism occurs in other theological configurations and even without the impact of the doctrine of predestination.¹² It is therefore only Weber's ideal type that hinges on the doctrine of Predestination, not his entire thesis.¹³ His thesis is further complicated by the distinction between capitalism – in the sense of a 'hunger for gold' – *auri sacra fames*¹⁴ – and the spirit of capitalism.¹⁵

Bondi's transparent argument is that Francke's orphanage industry left no mark on the history of political economy, but within the German civil economy, it influenced the early stages of capitalist production.¹⁶

4.2 CAPITAL LOANS AND TRADING

The third part of GA has five sections, only the first of which is kept in the later manuscript editions.¹⁷

⁸ When Weber speaks of 'German Pietism', he conflates three stages or generations of Pietism: Spener, Francke and Zinzendorf. *Ethik*, p.117. Moreover, he over-emphasizes the role of emotionality, as a result of the influence of Lutheran mysticism. *Ethik*, p. 122, p. 118. See also the work of Lehmann: *Max Webers 'Protestantische Ethik'*, *Beiträge aus der Sicht eines Historikers*, 1996. and Richard Gawthrop: "Lutheran Pietism and the Weber Thesis" (1989), pp. 237–247.

⁹ Weber, *Ethik*, p. 84.

¹⁰ Weber, *Ethik*, p. 107.

¹¹ See the second part of the book, "Die Berufsethik des asketischen Protestantismus", in which he investigates "Die religiösen Grundlagen der innerweltlichen Askese". Weber, *Ethik*, pp. 81–138.

¹² Weber, *Ethik*, pp. 82–83, p. 113.

¹³ Some exempt Pietism from the link to capitalism with the claim that there is no strong interpretation of the doctrine of Predestination in Pietism. Hinrichs, *Preußentum*, p. 12. Deppermann, *Pietismus*, pp. 177–178. For the opposite argument, see Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, pp. 79–80.

¹⁴ Weber, *Ethik*, p. 61

¹⁵ Weber, *Ethik*, pp. 41–42

¹⁶ Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 45: "Dennoch aber gebührt ihnen ein Platz in der Geschichte des ökonomischen Denkens in Deutschland, denn sie haben wesentlich geholfen, den Durchbruch von Formen der kapitalistischen Produktion zu ermöglichen." See also Ernst Bartz, who formulates a similar idea, but without clarifying the kind of capitalism that Halle Pietism took part in developing. "Wenn wir jetzt die Frage stellen, ob der hallische Pietismus die Entwicklung des deutschen Kapitalismus befördert habe, so werden wir sie bejahen müssen". Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, p. 79.

§ 1 How the *Foundations* can be supported in many ways

§ 2 How the *Foundations* can be supported by loaning capital

§3 On conducting business

§4 How the capital will be handled

§5 On interest

§1 reprises how the work can be supported with work, prayer, influence and good advice. Francke lists eleven good reasons for aiding and abetting him, all set out in clauses beginning with ‘He who has ... will certainly find good reasons to ...’ (GA3, pp. 158–160). The following and remaining sections, §2–§5, outline the plans on business and trading.¹⁸ These paragraphs continue the list of desirable measures begun in §1 but make the business context explicit. Francke recommends capital loans. If the affluent supporter will lend him capital, their loans will be reimbursed with a gain of 5–6 %.

[E]s ist in diesem project die eigentliche Meynung, einen solchen Vorschlag zu thun, *wie einige hohe und vornehme Gönner* von ihren Capitalien, so sie auff interesse aus zuthun pflegen, ein gewißes nach ihrem Belieben gegen gewöhnliches Interesse zu fünff bis sechs pro Cent zu dem bey dem Waysen-Hause anzulegenden Handel ins große her leihen möchten: welches Capital durch gewisse Personen administrirt und so lange ieden Gönner gefallen wird, das seine stehen zu laßen, im Handel beständig conservirt, die Revenuen aber so nach Abtragung der Zinsen als netter Gewinn bleiben, zur Erweiterung des Wercks des HErrn angewendet werden sollen (GA3, p. 161).

The understanding of capital shows that money is more than a pecuniary means, it is an asset, which is why capital loans are repaid with interest.¹⁹ In the short §5, Francke explains how the interest rate of 5–6 % annually will be drawn from all capital.²⁰

In §3, Francke informs us that the capital will be invested in wholesale trading with “Materialisten-Waare”: spices, rice and other victuals (GA3, p. 161). So far these items have been sold in retail (“ins klein und zum tägli-

¹⁷ The later manuscript rearranged the text so that GA3 became an additional chapter in GA2. Podczeck quotes a letter from Georg Heinrich Neubauer to Anton Wilhelm Böhme (18.11.1716), in which Neubauer mentions that GA3 “wird ganz anders eingerichtet”. Podczeck, GA p. 19.

¹⁸ The B-manuscript of 1709 breaks off after the eleven reasons, to which it adds two related to the library and the India mission. GA3, p. 160. Podczeck, GA, pp. 15–18.

¹⁹ Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 37

²⁰ According to Bondi the interest rate of 5–6 % is fair and modest. He points out that interest and revenues are two different things, which must not be confused. The interest rate of 5–6 % is thus a percentage of the capital loans, not of the profit gained. Bondi, *Entwicklung*, pp. 38–39. In most cases Francke kept the interest rate on 4–6%, but there were exceptions and examples of rates at 8% and 16%. *Entwicklung*, p. 44.

chen Hand=Kauff") at the apothecary shop with cash payment (GA3, p. 161), but the trade in victuals will be handled as a separate business with its own accounts, premises and administration.²¹ Like the apothecary's shop the victuals trade will also have a local "Kram=Laden" with a limited supply of wares. Francke is confident about the venture into "Handel ins groß"²² – and he sees it as a hint from God. He has conferred with business experts who have recommend wholesale, since retail business, if conducted sincerely, does not generate substantial profit (GA3, p. 161). He informs his readers of his own experience with wholesale business, which together with the advice of reliable experts and trust in providential guidance strengthens the case.

Wir haben auch selbst in einigen Stücken eine Probe gethan, und sind also durch eigene Erfahrung darinne bestärcket: Da wir denn zwar mit Wahrheit sagen können, daß wir auch bey aller gebrauchten Redlichkeit den Handel ins kleine nicht ohne allen Nutzen geführt, doch aber bey den Proben ins groß weit mehrern Nutzen gefunden. Auch hat sich die göttliche Providenz gar eigentlich in dieser Sache gezeiget, und uns merckliche Vortheile für andern Kauffleuten in die Hände gelegt, darinnen daß Gott eine rechtschaffene Liebe zu seinem Werck erwecket hat in dem Herten mancher vornehmen Handels=Leute an denen Orten, wo der Handel am meisten floriret, und von wannen man die Waaren ins groß kommen läßet; welche dann von Herten bereit sind, mit gutem Rath und Beweisung aller Liebe und Treue unsern Handel zu fördern (GA3, p. 161).

We here see how Francke highlights the advantages of combining his reform project and trading. He draws attention to religious revival among merchants and the benefit of their counsels.²³ Furthermore he does not shy away from mentioning that the business is aimed at a considerable profit ("was rechts considerables gewinnen könne", GA3, p. 161). Such a statement is unsurprising in the context of business and trading, but perhaps raises eyebrows in a devotional theological context.²⁴

In §4, Francke addresses supporters who might be inclined to lend capital to the reform project but not the commercial trading. His trusted team is capable of welcoming such a request. He furthermore assures potential in-

²¹ Particularly Elers, Neubauer and Canstein were important administrators of the business and trading of the orphanage industry. Klosterberg calls Elers 'the ideal type of the Pietistic merchant.' *Kommerz*, p. 157. See also pp. 160–185. Canstein's role is highlighted by Hinrichs, *Preußentum*, pp. 75–81.

²² Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 38. Bondi explains that large business trading was common in Francke's time, but also that "Großhandel" should be understood as "Fernhandel", and hardly could be anything else, due to limited production and circulation of goods at the time.

²³ A good example of a "Bekehrungsgeschichte eines Kaufmanns", picked from a letter from Elers to Francke (27.07.1715) is paraphrased in Hinrichs, *Preußentum*, pp. 324–325.

²⁴ Deppermann voices such a concern. *Pietismus*, p. 178.

vestors that all capital will remain in goods or in cash and can be reclaimed by request half a year in advance (GA3, p. 162).

Apparently it was not a problem for Francke to combine his reform project with business and trading plans. Nor did it require discretion to state that the business aimed at increasing profit. The work's utilitarian and pious purpose legitimized the means, and so did the devout administration undertaken by true believers, who "dem Wercke des HErrn geneigt sind" (GA3, p. 161). Moreover, Francke's understanding of capital as an asset and his plans concerning trading indicate that his strategy for raising funds was *à la mode*. The next question we shall pursue concerns the traded and vendible stock.

4.3. LUXURY AND DISINTEREST

The international network of the orphanage industry evidently made the interest in trading an appealing affair. Francke informs us that he obtains goods "aus der ersten Hand" from Germany, Holland, England, Italy, Moscow and the Orient (GA3, p. 162). What he does not specify is the type of merchandise he obtains. The vague category "Materialisten-Waare" not only included victuals but also luxury items such as Italian and Hungarian wine, sugar, caviar, coffee, Turkish rugs and tobacco.²⁵ The introduction of luxury goods brought with it the temptation of hedonistic pleasure and thus challenged the ascetic message expounded by Francke from his pulpit. This is, at least, the reasonable concern of Bondi, who claims that

Soweit er [Francke] mit seiner Lehre in Widerspruch geriet, geschah es bei seinen geschäftlichen Unternehmungen, beim Handel mit jenen Dingen, die im Leben eines wahren Christen keinen Platz finden sollten (Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 43).

Bondi gives two examples of potential conflicts. The first is the capital loans, which imply "arbeitsloses Einkommen" which relieves man from work and discipline.²⁶ The second pertains to the commercial stock on the orphanage premises, which challenged the ascetic Christian lifestyle and the principle of *adiaphora*. Much of what Francke expounds from his pulpit is consequently reflected in praxis in the reform project, but the luxury items introduced by the commercial trading represent, according to Bondi, a challenge. Long-distance trading was not the problem as such, and the import and export of items – for the printing house, bookshops and the apothecary – are of a different character. The problem is the luxury items: sugar, coffee beans – of which Francke's wife was a regular consumer²⁷ – wine, furs, coats, and as Bondi bemoans, snuff:

²⁵ Hinrichs, *Preußentum*, p. 84, p. 321. Bondi, *Entwicklung*, pp. 43–44.

²⁶ Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 37

²⁷ Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 37

Daß im Fernhandel auch Schnupftabak seinen Platz hatte, rundet das Bild ab. Es wurde eben mit allem gehandelt, was einen großen Gewinn versprach, unbeschwert durch die von Francke in Wort und Schrift verkündeten Gebote. (Bondi, *Entwicklung*, pp. 43–44).

I agree with Bondi, that there is a conflict between the words from the pulpit and the sale of such delectable items. Moreover it makes good sense to distinguish between luxury goods, on the one hand, and supplies for the manufacturing business on the other. In both cases, however, the products, whether medicine, Bibles or caviar, were all equally means to turn a profit. It is true that Bondi makes his statement in a conditional clause (“Soweit er mit seiner Lehre in Widerspruch geriet...”), which leaves room for speculation as to whether the connection could be understood differently. Would it make sense to distinguish between trading in luxury products and enjoying them?²⁸ Is it possible to establish a disinterested attitude towards superfluous consumables such as sugar, coffee beans and tobacco, which would make trading, or a moderate consumption, tolerable? What does it take for a luxury indulgence to become an everyday chattel? Is it convertible? Was not the *Essentia Dulcis*, produced in the orphanage *Apotheke* and commercially traded, a luxury item with a devotional brand and a use in the world?

Such questions show the grey zones of combining reform with worldly business and trade. The religious believer should not be absolved in worldly matters, or act in a way which could give such an impression.²⁹ Rather he must focus on decisive devotional matters, which go hand in hand with disdain of worldly pleasures. At the same time, the religious believer must take part in the promotion of God’s kingdom, and this may involve worldly engagement, advice and insight. It is no surprise that Christian charity is financed, but the way that funds are raised may require different levels of discretion. This does not make trading with luxury goods any less controversial, and the best indication that this was a delicate matter is the silence in *Grosse Aufsatz*. If it was not a ticklish business, why not then mention the delectable luxury stock along with the victuals?

A sharp contrast to the silence surrounding the trading of luxuries in *Grosse Aufsatz*, is the verbose account of the production of Bibles in GA2. If we imagine that chocolate or wine were produced in the same quantities that Bibles were printed, the account of it would require more discretion. This is, at least, inferable from the lack of information on the trade in luxury goods and the omission of the trading plans in the later manuscripts. The orphanage was no chocolate factory, its primary function was to school, rear, and train God-fearing men and to rationalize Christian charity. The

²⁸ Hinrichs, *Preußentum*, pp. 344–345, recounts an event during Francke’s *Reise ins Reich*, where he was invited to an evening gathering. He soon left, displeased with “die üppig mit Wein und Konfekt besetzte Tafel.”

²⁹ See part one and the analysis of Francke’s sermons.

trading business was a *Nebengeschäft*. In the instances in which Francke does inform his readers about trading, particularly when the product is not self-evidently devotional – the difference between victuals and Bibles – he emphasizes the devout and disinterested attitude of his Christian negotiators. These trusted collaborators are even more important than the international network, both of them being present in §4. Francke highlights their working ethos and their modest lifestyle as business advantages. Compared to most merchants, who have expenses and are obligated by families and duties to the authorities, Francke's collaborators have less expenses and thus increase the profit. The calculation of devout parsimony is conveyed in the following way.

Ferner ist ein unbeschreiblicher Vorthail darinn, daß Gott zur Führung des Handels Leute gegeben, die nicht das ihrige suchen, sondern sich zum Dienste Gottes gewidmet haben, folglich auch alle Treue und Fleiß beweisen werden, zu geschweigen, daß, was sonst große Kauff Leute auff ihren Staat Diener und Familie verwenden, bey diesem Handel alles ersparet wird, und den Gewinn vergrößert, welches wir bishero auch bey dem Buchladen und Apotheke erfahren, und der Augenschein weiset; Wie auch daß man sich des göttlichen Segens, davon doch alles dependiret, hiebey mehr versichern mag, als sonst ein Kauffmann thun kan, der seinen Handel zu seines und der Seinigen Nutzen führet (GA3 p. 162).

The disinterest of Francke's negotiators means profit for the orphanage industry. The mention of the success of the bookshop and the apothecary's shop,³⁰ already established businesses, makes the idea feasible that trading would fit into and become a part of the 'indescribable advantage'. To Francke, the nature of the goods seems to be secondary to the prospect of profit, providing always that the business is conducted by trusted collaborators.

4.4 CHANGING THE WORLD FROM THE PULPIT

Gerhard Bondi has argued that the type of capitalism which developed in Germany in the seventeenth century was based not on theory but on practice. As we have seen he distinguishes between a political economy, such as mercantilism in England, informed by theories, and a civil economy,

³⁰ The apothecary's shop was already a large business and a long-distance-trading concern. GA2, p. 147. After it was opened with a royal privilege in 1698, it developed into a "Medikamentenexpedition" which traded the *Essentia dulcis*. Klosterberg, *Kommerz*, pp. 167–171. The bookshop, started in 1698 and in 1699 royally privileged, was also a success, and at the time around Francke's death provided 10 % of the total income of the orphanage industry. Klosterberg, *Kommerz*, p. 163. Elers' price-setting on books was one way of increasing profit. See Schürmann, *Buchhandlung*, pp. 140–145 and Bartz, *Wirtschaftsethik*, pp. 48–49. Bartz recounts the story of a trainee working in the bookshop; after one week of probation he asked to be released, because he had qualms about the high prices and the complaints from customers.

such as the one in Germany, evolved over time and informed by religious beliefs. He maintains that one of the reasons for the successful development of civil economy within Halle Pietism was the ability to speak of matters concerning society from the pulpit. That platform ensured the attention of a broad audience and it lent ecclesiastical authority to social ideas.³¹ At the same time, Bondi argues that if the words Francke expounded from the pulpit are divested of their theological guise, they show an early stage of capitalism. Consider his statement:

Wenn wir nun A. H. Franckes ökonomische Gedanken, seine Auffassungen von Arbeit und Beruf, Kapital und Zins, Reichtum und Armut in ihrer Gesamtheit nehmen, so kennzeichnet sie alle gemeinsam, daß sie die Anschauungen der Bourgeoisie in einem sehr frühen Entwicklungsstadium der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise erstaunlich getreu widerspiegeln. Sie werden in der Sprache des Predigers vorgetragen, als Gebote oder Verhaltensregeln für den bekehrten Christen formuliert, aber wenn man sie ihres theologischen Beiwerks entkleidet, werden sie zu allgemeinen Verhaltensnormen des angehenden Bourgeois oder des Lohnarbeiters der frühkapitalistischen Periode (Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 39).

First of all, it is worth noticing that Bondi is speaking of an early stage of capitalism and a capitalist method of production. This seems applicable to the rational capitalist organization of the production of Bibles. Bondi's strong claim is the disrobing of the theological words, and that the pulpit message at once supports the development of civil society and manifests the church's authority. We could add that this kind of engagement from the pulpit not only had an impact on the world, but also on the pulpit itself and its intrinsic authority. Indeed the perspective is even broader, when we take into consideration that Francke had several pulpits at his disposal, on the university campus, on the grounds of the orphanage and in churches. The accumulation of not one but several rostra shows a combined effort to change the world and to do so systematically – as with a capitalist method of production. From the pulpit, the world was changed, but the world hit back and reshaped and multiplied the pulpit. If the reform project, stripped of its theological guise, shows the development of an early stage of civil capitalism, then what did it entail in its fully-fledged theological vestments?

The idea of engaging and changing the world from the pulpit is worth expanding. It was a reciprocal endeavour, which did not leave the pulpit unmarked by worldly shrewdness. A good example of this is the organization of student scribes. They recorded the continuous flow of words from the pulpit, but soon the words spoken at the university and on the orphanage premises also. The records were turned into texts, produced in and disseminated by the orphanage press. The books were full of devotional and educational guidelines, designed to instruct and shape the assiduous reader

³¹ Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 39

into a true Christian believer. This was the main object of the reform project, but to realize it required funds. As the project developed, the interest in business and trade increased.

In *Grosse Aufsatz*, we see different strategies for increasing profit, either through fundraising, capital loans, manufacturing, the mass production of Bibles or commercial trading in victuals and luxury goods. Although absolving Francke from charges of being a sybarite, Bondi maintains that he was, and most persistently was, a capitalist “Geschäftsgeist”.³² The claim seems reasonable, if the capitalist head for business covers all the businesses of the orphanage, which primarily was an industry of education, pastoral care, student funding but also of Bibles, books, medicine, victuals, delicacies for the table et cetera.

4.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Francke had no problem combining Christian reform with the profit gained from various businesses and deals. On the one hand, it seems to have been unimportant whether the goods traded were Bibles, supplies for the orphanage industry, or victuals including de luxe items. In all cases the purpose was to increase profit and fund the reform project. On the other hand, the different businesses were treated and advertised differently. The Bible business required no discretion, and the rational capitalist organization was flashed up as an innovative trait. In the case of trading, Francke separates it from the reform, and he makes it possible for supporters to lend capital to the reform project, without supporting the trading ventures. This distinction indicates that not all favoured such a combination. Furthermore, in the cases where the wares traded were of a kind that required discretion, Francke had others conduct the business for him. This did not mean that he was shy about his own engagement, but discrete, in regard to victuals, and silent in regard to downright luxuries. If the traded item was not directly theological and evidently devotional, Francke seems to have compensated by stressing that his collaborators did not seek personal gain but were working in the service of the project. This strategy points in the direction of a supposition that, with the right attitude, indifferent and even luxury goods might have been tolerable. As long as Canstein was in charge of the wine sales, it was accepted as a means of funding and drawing benefit from the missionary network of the orphanage.

³² Bondi, *Entwicklung*, p. 44: “Den Gründer der Anstalten in Glaucha der Heuchelei oder Doppelzüngigkeit zu beschuldigen, ihm vorzuwerfen, er predige öffentlich Wasser und trinke heimlich Wein, wäre billig und nicht einmal ein Teil der Wahrheit. Aber in dieser Mischung von Kirchen-Reformator, Sozialreformer, Pädagogen und praktischem Geschäftsmann, die manches Unvereinbare eklektisch zu vereinen sucht, gewinnt dort, wo es um den Profit geht, der kapitalistische Geschäftsgeist die Oberhand.”

In Francke's primary function, as a minister and a professor, he had several pulpits available. The multitude of helpers and his efficient use of them – the many hours of activity on pulpits and the records of the student scribes – shows a capitalist method of production similar to that of the manufacturing concerns, the production of Bibles and the trading business. The investment was here not in goods, but in mankind. The words from the pulpit are legitimate devotional products like the Bible, and thus need no discretion or defence. Yet they too are strategically organized to increase pastoral profit: to educate and train as many pastors as possible. Francke's "Geschäftsgeist" is not restricted to the world of commerce, it is also to be understood in a theological, devotional and educational context. Capital is a financial asset as well as an investment in the reform of man.

PART III: THE SHEPHERD

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In part two I argued that the production of Bibles at the orphanage followed a rational capitalist organization. The same applies to the making of students, which Francke compares to typesetting and printing.

In this part we shall look at the paraenetical and pastoral corpus of texts. The production of this corpus is one of the strongest witnesses to the ongoing and industrious reform at Halle. It shows the engagement of ministers and professors expounding words from the pulpit, and student scribes who fixed on paper words which were later edited and published. The selection of texts made here combines Bible exegesis, devotional enactments and student counselling. It realizes an ideal of using biblical texts for pastoral hodegetic purposes. Furthermore the larger corpus, and my selection from it, shows a clear preference for the Pastoral Letters, and it is consequently a relevant context for Francke's and Anton's reception of these. To begin with let us have a look at the paraenetical and pastoral textual corpus: then turn to the Pastoral Letters and how the reception at Halle strove to reassess Pauline authority. Finally I shall offer my reading of Francke's Ten Titus Lectures, in order to show, in detail, how the pastoral preference for Paul was constructed and applied.

5.2 PARAENETICAL AND PASTORAL LECTURES

The paraenetical lectures are well known in research studies.¹ The most substantial work, with lists and registers of the year's lectures, is stored on microfiche at the *Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek* in Halle (Saale).² Highlights from this dissertational work by Friedrich de Boor have been published in an accessible article.³ In the scholarly debate, one of the recurrent questions is whether the lectures are academic or edifying. Unlike the scholarly lectures, delivered in Latin, the paraenetical lectures were held publicly and spoken in German. This has led to the assumption that these lectures form the practical and applicable part of Francke's academic en-

¹ Erhard Peschke, *STF* 2, pp. 130–164. In a continuum with Peschke: Brecht, *Hallische Pietismus*, pp. 462–473. La Vopa, *Poor Students*, pp. 145–164; Markus Matthias, “August Hermann Francke (1663–1727)” (2005), pp. 108–110.

² Friedrich de Boor's Habilitation dissertation, dating from 1968: *Die paränetischen und methodologischen Vorlesungen August Hermann Francke (1693-1727)* (unpublished, a copy is available at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Halle under the signature: Fi 69 H 240).

³ Friedrich de Boor, “A. H. Franckes paraenetische Vorlesungen und seine Schriften zur Methode des theologischen Studiums”, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* (1968), pp. 300–320.

deavours; and that they are therefore not of scholarly quality.⁴ I should like to challenge this assumption. One of the challenges of asserting anything about the paraenetical lectures is that they are part of a large corpus and an even larger year-long course of lectures. One selection of the corpus will lead to assumptions and conclusions that will contradict another set of assumptions & conclusions. Bold and general assertions on the paraenetical lectures should at least draw attention to this chasm at their feet. On this note, let us first turn to the tireless lecturing activity and the enormous mountain of recorded words.

Francke was famous for his paraenetical lectures. His former student, Johann Jakob Rambach would later imitate the style;⁵ and when Francke died in 1727, another student commemorated his old master in a public paraenetical lecture.⁶ Francke's career as a paraenetical lecturer lasted more than thirty years. Once a week, on Thursdays from 10 to 11, he would give admonitory lectures in the public auditorium on the university campus. He had begun in 1693 lecturing in his private study,⁷ but as the number of participants grew, the lectures shifted to the University campus.⁸ He kept up the teaching until his death in June 1727. In fact the last lecture he gave was a *lectio paraenetica* on May 15 of that year.⁹ The year before, he had begun to edit and publish a selection of his lectures, which since 1695 had been recorded by student scribes. He managed to publish the first two volumes of the *Lectiones Paraeneticae*, the remaining five being edited and

⁴ Brecht asserts: "Das Genus der Paränetischen Vorlesungen konnte freilich keine streng wissenschaftliches sein, und sie waren in die Ausrichtung „ad praxin“, also auf innerliche fromme Praxis, ein charakteristischer Fremdkörper im akademischen Lehrbetrieb." *Hallische Pietismus*, p. 470.

⁵ See Johann Jakob Rambach's 1000-plus page imitation of Francke's *Idea*, which was posthumously published by Christian Hecten. The work is entitled *Wohl unterrichteter STUDIOSUS THEOLOGIAE, oder Gründliche Anweisung auf was Art das Studium theologicum ... auf der Universität anzufangen, zu mitteln und zu enden sey ... Mit einigen Anmerckungen ... Von dem rechten Gebrauch der ORATION, MEDITATION und TENTATION, als einem Kennzeichen der wahren Kirchen*, Frankfurt 1739.

⁶ Georg Freidrich Rogall: *Paraenesis publica, oder Oeffentliche Erweckungs-Rede an die Studiosi Theol. auf der Königsbergischen Universität, Darinnen denenselbigen Das Leben und der Wandel des theuresten Theologi, Herrn August Hermann Franckens / zum Exempel vorgestellt* (25 June, 1727). It was published in *Epicedia*, pp. 187–194)

⁷ De Boor, *Habilitation*, p. 23

⁸ LP 1, p. 4: "Als nun ferner, bey dem Anwachs der Vniuersität, mein *museum* für die *Auditores* zu klein ward, habe ich denn auch angefangen diese *Paraeneses* in dem *Auditoria publico* zu halten, und ist denn damit, auch nach *Inaugurirung* der *Vniuersität*, wie die *Catalogi lectionum* bezeugen können, von halben Jahren zu halben Jahren immer fortgefahren worden."

⁹ Gustav Kramer, *Pädagogische Schriften*, p. 49. Peschke, *Auswahl*, p. 404.

published posthumously by his son Gotthilf August Francke.¹⁰ The seven volumes are far from covering the entire body of lectures, but they remain the most extensive published selection. It is important to distinguish between a) the year-long collegium paraeneticum, i.e. the weekly course; b) the written records of student scribes;¹¹ and c) the published selections – the main part of which are *Timotheus zum Fürbilde allen Theologiae Studiosis dargestellt* (1695), *Idea Studiosi Theologiae* (1712)¹² and the seven-volume *Lectiones Paraeneticae* (1726–1733).

Timotheus, the first published paraenetical lecture, was a *Studentenspiegel*.¹³ It represented the Pauline apprentice, Timothy, as a model for the students at Halle to follow.¹⁴ The preference for the Pastoral Letters in this text could hardly be clearer. I shall give an example from the *Studentenspiegel*, which recurs in the *Idea*. Francke likens the university to the description in 2 Tim 2:20–21 of a “large house”, in which utensils of both the special and the ordinary kind are refined.¹⁵ The university becomes the large house, and the students in it the utensils. They must prove themselves as useful instruments, Francke argues, in his contemporizing application of the metaphor.

In einem grossen Hause / saget Paulus in dem vorhergehenden v. 20. 21 [2 Tim 2:20–21] sind nicht allein güldene und silberne Gefässe / sondern auch höltzerne und irrdische / und etliche zu Ehren / etliche aber zu Unehren. So nun iemand sich reiniget von solchen Leuten / der wird ein geheiliget Faß seyn zu den Ehren / dem Hauß-Herren bräuchlich / und zu allem guten Werck bereitet. Die Universitäten sind ein solches Hauß / darinnen leider noch zur Zeit die meisten sich als unreine Gefässe beweisen / und sich in den Lüsten der Jugend herum weltzen. Wollet ihr nun rechtschaffene Diener GOTTes werden / so müsset ihr euch reinigen von

¹⁰ De Boor, *Habil*, p. 31.

¹¹ Twelve volumes with more than a thousand lectures recorded are unpublished and stored in the archives at Halle. De Boor, *Habilitation*, p. 29

¹² Five editions of *Timotheus* were issued from 1695–1728. Raabe, Pfeiffer, pp. 86–87). Five editions of *Idea* were issued from 1712–1758. Raabe/Pfeiffer, pp. 138–141).

¹³ An exhortative refrain in the text goes: “Spiegelt euch hierinnen, Ihr *Studiosi Theologiae*”. E.g. *Timotheus*, pp. 8, 11, 46,

¹⁴ Francke also uses the relational structure between Paul and Timothy, father/son, master/apprentice, in his admonishment of students. The older students and preceptors are to be models for younger students, and be like fathers to them, as Paul was to Timothy: “Ich wollte auch / daß ihr zum andern darinnen den *Timotheum* zu einem Fürbilde nehmet/daß er dem Paulo/als ein lieber Sohn seinem Vater nachgefolget / und an dem Evangelio gedienet. Denn in diesem Stücke hat er auch etwas gleiches mit euch / die ihr *Studiosi Theologiae* heisset / in dem daß ihr auch noch unter der Aufsicht und Anführung eurer *Praeceptorum* lebet. *Timotheus*, pp. 68–69.

¹⁵ 2 Tim 2:20–21: “In a large house there are utensils not only of gold and silver but also of wood and clay, some for special use, some for ordinary. (21) All who cleanse themselves of the things I have mentioned will become special utensils, dedicated and useful to the owner of the house, ready for every good work.”

solchen Leuten / und die Lüste der Jugend ernstlich meiden / so werdet ihr dann ein geheiliget Faß seyn / und nützliche Werckzeuge zu vieler Menschen Seligkeit. (*Timotheus*, pp. 54–55).

The link between the large house and the university is illustrative for the effort to reform the church by reforming its pastors.

In 1712, *Idea Studiosi Theologiae* was published. It took up the theme from *Timotheus* and extended the format considerably. Francke's paraenetical textual corpus was extended further with pastoral lectures and addresses to former students at Halle that now held positions as teachers or ministers. In 1723 *Monita Pastoralia Theologica* was issued. It took up after *Idea* (1712) and continued the instruction and admonishment of former students. During the years 1709 to 1714, concurrently with his admonitory lectures, Francke gave a series of lectures on pastoral theology.¹⁶ These lectures were also recorded by student scribes, and a selection of them edited and published in 1741 and 1743 by Francke's son.¹⁷ The paraenetical and pastoral effort was tireless. A breakdown of the representative texts in the pastoral and paraenetical corpus shows us:

- *Timotheus zum Fürbilde allen Theologiae Studiosis dargestellt* (1695)
- *Idea Studiosi Theologiae* (1712)
- *Monita Pastoralia Theologica, oder Theologische Erinnerungen und Vorschläge* (1723)
- *Lectiones Paraeneticae* (1726–1733)
- *Collegium Pastorale über Hartmanni Pastorale Euangelicum* (1741/1743)

5.3 COLLEGIA FOR GODLINESS

In the student manual, *Idea*, the university at Halle is held up as a place successful in combining academic study and pastoral care. It is however but one of many sites at which pastoral care is attempted and practised. The sites are identified as the university campus, churches and the orphanage premises. The multitude of sites and the focus on pastoral care is symptomatic of the reform project, and, additionally, it chimes in with the ecclesiological notion of “the large house”.¹⁸

In *Idea*, Anton and Francke are presented as co-lecturers. Francke gives paraenetical lectures at a “Collegium Paraeneticum”, Anton gives ascetical

¹⁶ See Erhard Peschke: “Das Collegium Pastorale August Hermann Francke 1713” (1994), pp. 157–193.

¹⁷ *Collegium Pastorale über Hartmanni Pastorale Euangelicum*. Together with *Observationes Pastorales*, a series of Latin lectures, *Aphorismi Pastorales ex epistola Pauli ad Titum*, dated 1710, was comprised in the second volume.

¹⁸ The first pages of the *Idea* begin with the allusion to “the large house” in 2 Tim 2:20. *Idea*, pp. 1–2.

lectures at a “Collegium Asceticum”.¹⁹ Both courses were designed to instill godliness.²⁰ The ascetical *collegium* took place on Sundays in the orphanage after the afternoon sermon; the paraenetical *collegium* gathered Thursday mornings on the university campus.²¹ The target in both cases was to prepare students for future positions as ministers. We shall have a look at the description of the colleges in the *Idea*. Here they are represented as an opportunity for the students at Halle.

Damit ihr nun auch einen rechten Nutzen so wol von dem *Paraenetico* als *Ascetico* haben möget / habet ihr vornehmlich auf den rechten Zweck derselben zu sehen / welcher in beyden dieser ist/ daß ihr besondere Gelegenheit haben möget / in allen Stücken / so zum Leben und Göttlichen Wandel gehören / vornehmlich aber in denen Dingen / die euch besonders / so ferne ihr zum öffentlichen Dienst der Kirchen zubereitet werdet / nöthig und nützlich seyn / unterrichtet / aufgewecket und angemahnet zu werden. In dem *Paraenetico* gehet der Zweck zugleich mit dahin / daß die *adjumenta und impedimenta Studii Theologici*, und was nur *ad methodum* desselbigen gehöret / treulich angezeigt (*Idea*, pp. 219–220).

As we see, the colleges are closely related. One difference is that the paraenetical lectures broach concrete student delinquencies without mentioning the names of those involved. The aim is to approach substantive and individual issues in a general way, and thus give all listeners a chance to reflect and ask themselves whether this applies or might apply to them. Francke refers to this inner questioning as “Erinnerung.”

Diese Erinnerung geschiehet ohne einige Benennung der Person / und auf eine solche Weyse / daß keiner dieselbe mit einigem Fug als eine Beschimpfung ihm zu Gemüth ziehen / ein ieglicher aber daher Gelegenheit nehmen kan / auch da er nicht gemeynet ist / sich selbst zu prüfen / und die gegebene Erinnerung wenigstens als eine Warnung vor allem dem / so an andern *improbiret* worden / zu gebrauchen (*Idea*, p. 220).

Actual problems are thus used for general instruction. In the description of Anton’s lectures on asceticism, the engagement with the Pastoral Letters is emphasized.

In dem *Ascetico* wird nach kürzlich gezeigtem Wort-Verstande eines Biblischen Orts alles so fort / unter wiederholter und anbefohlner Gewissens-Prüfung / auf die Übung des rechtschaffenen Christenthums nach Lehr und Leben / und sonderlich auf den *Academischen* und den darauf erfolgenden Zustand / sorgfältig *appliciret*: zu welchem Ende denn gemeiniglich solche Biblische Texte (als da vornehmlich sind die drey Epistolae Pauli Pastorales an den Timotheum und Titum) zu diesen Lectionibus genommen werden/ die vor andern zu besagtem Zweck sich schicken (*Idea*, pp. 220–221).

¹⁹ This college was started in 1698. De Boor, *Singstunden*, p. 17

²⁰ *Idea*, p. 218: “insonderbarkeit dienen / euch in der Befleißigung der wahren Gottseligkeit eine Förderung zu geben.”

²¹ *Idea*, p. 219

The ascetic lectures expound the words of a biblical passage, drawing attention to how they can be applied. The description could also be applied to Francke's Titus lectures and the pastoral lectures that Anton later held in 1726 to 1727. It is not clear how Anton's ascetical lectures in the orphanage differ from his later pastoral lectures, but both display a clear preference for the Pastoral Letters. Anton's and Francke's lectures were a mélange of exegetical commentary, philological observations, biblical hermeneutics, devotion and student instruction: a successful combination that struck the right balance between erudition and piety.

5.4 REASSESSMENT OF PAULINE AUTHORITY

The three Pastoral Letters are a part of the 27 canonized texts in the New Testament. Traditionally they are considered to be a part of the Epistles, but since 1807 the question of authorship has been questioned.²² Today most scholars consider them as pseudonymous or pseudepigraphical.²³ The denial of the authorship has occasioned different reactions,²⁴ but as letters imitating Paul, their theological relevance is obtainable even without the authority of Paul. Francke – although on different premises – would agree to this.²⁵

The anonymous authors of the Pastoral Letters deploy a literary strategy, which, by using Paul's name reassesses his apostolic authority.²⁶ This makes the Letters a strong, central and early reception of the Epistles. The anonymous authors do not discard Paul, on the contrary, they reassert his authority in a post-Pauline era.²⁷ It is both illustrative and ironic that, by relieving the Pastorals of their former Pauline authorship, it becomes all the more pertinent to examine how and why they persist in appearing Pauline.²⁸ Reassessing Paul requires firm knowledge of his texts and his character, and the mimicry in the Pastorals offers apt evidence of this.²⁹ The rhetorical strategy applied in these letters gives us not only an image of Paul, but also of the young apprentices Timothy and Titus. They are the explicit

²² In 1807 Schleiermacher questioned the authenticity of 1 Tim and soon critical assessments of the other letters followed. Martin Dibelius, "Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus II, An Timotheus I II, An Titus", in *HNT* 3 (1913). p. 138.

²³ This is already evident in Dibelius' work. See *Briefe*, pp. 134–135.

²⁴ See Meade, *Authorship*, pp. 130–133.

²⁵ See the following quotation from the ninth Titus Lecture.

²⁶ Lips, *Corpus Pastorale*, p. 61. David G Meade: *Pseudonymity and canon. An Investigation into the Relationship of Authorship and Authority in Jewish and Earliest Christian Tradition*, 1986, pp. 118–153

²⁷ Meade, *Authorship*, p. 123.

²⁸ Meade, *Authorship*, p. 123.

²⁹ Meade, *Authorship*, p. 130.

addressees of the letters, but since they are instructed on how to instruct others, the readership is consequently broader. The message that is personalized through them focuses on training aspiring church authorities and representing a model of discipleship.³⁰ In the Epistles, Paul is put forward as a model (τύπος), in the Pastorals, he is presented as the hyper-model (ὑποτύπωσις), and the role of regular model is taken over by Titus and Timothy.³¹ This is one example of the intensified imitation to be found in the Pastorals. Ideas, notions, concepts and phrases from the Pauline letters are reused in the Pastorals, but with a different, and at times stronger, emphasis. The Pastorals are thus at once pseudo-Pauline and hyper-Pauline.

The authorship of the pastorals was not questioned by Francke and Anton. They read them as the result of Paul's year-long experience as apostle. The modern approach, presuming pseudepigraphical authorship, is clearly different. Yet there are a number of interesting coincidences in the way the Halle Pietists, like the authors of the Pastorals, strove to reassess Paul's authority and contemporize his message. In both cases, Paul, Titus and Timothy were understood as the best instruments for making models of and for Christian believers. Another consensus between the Pietists and the Pastorals was that quoting Paul was of itself insufficient, he had to be revived and re-clothed. This was achieved by laying claim to his apostolic intention, reasoning, competence, passion and spirit.

Francke did not discard Paul as author, but the way he read the Pastorals shows that the spirit of Paul trumped the anonymous author's pretence. Consider the following statement from the ninth lecture on Titus: Francke states that the description of a true Christian in Titus 3:1–7 is so Pauline, that it is recognizable even if Paul's name is omitted.

Wenn genau darauf Acht gegeben wird, wie er an diesem Orte einen Christen vorstellt, so wird leicht zu erkennen seyn, daß er ihn nach seiner Weise beschreibe, wie in allen seinen übrigen Episteln, und daß er einerley Gestalt und Art eines rechtschaffenen Wesens überall darinnen vorstelle, so, daß man aus solcher Beschreibung, ob gleich der Name Pauli nicht davon stünde, spiritum Pauli leicht erkennen möchte (LP1, p. 155).

The remark stands as an unintentional omen for the later reception of the Pastoral Letters. It also shows how the letters were expounded and applied with reference and claims to Paul's spirit. The Titus Lectures will give us rich opportunities to go into further detail, and I shall therefore save them for later. In the meantime I shall make another remark on the theological profile of the Pastoral Letters.

³⁰ Meade, *Authorship*, p. 128: "The task of Paul's representatives, or authoritative interpreters, is not only to reproduce Pauline doctrine, but also to 'reincarnate' the Pauline life-style or model of discipleship."

³¹ Meade, *Authorship*, p. 123. The term ὑποτύπωσις only occurs twice in the New Testament, in both cases in the Pastoral Letters: 1 Tim 1:16 and 2 Tim 1:13.

Manifestations of faith

Faith in the Pastorals is a matter of visible manifestations of faith.³² This is seen in the way words and concepts develop, and also in the display of virtues in man. The Christian believer must have a good, clean and sober mind, heart and behaviour. In the Pastorals we find notions and concepts, central to the Epistles, recurring with modifications. This is a study in itself, and I shall only give a few examples. From being a paradox in Paul's letters, faith (πίστις) develops a trait of rationality in the Pastorals.³³ Faith becomes interchangeable with truth (ἀλήθεια) and teaching (διδασκαλία).³⁴ Teaching is furthermore specified as healthy and sound teaching (ὕγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία).³⁵ Knowledge is emphasized as *full* knowledge (ἐπίγνωσις), which is combined with truth (ἀλήθεια). It is epitomized in the construction special to the Pastorals: 'full knowledge of the truth' (ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας).³⁶

Three of the central Christianized virtues in the Pastorals are prudence (σωφροσύνη)³⁷ righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) and piety (εὐσέβεια). All of them occur in the famous verse Titus 2:12: "training us to renounce impiety and worldly passions, and in the present age to live lives that are self-controlled, upright, and godly". The term piety or respect (εὐσέβεια) is evidently central in the context of pietism and devotional theology. In the New Testament the word is mainly to be found in the Pastoral Letters.³⁸ Luther,

³² Herman Von Lips: *Glaube - Gemeinde - Amt, zum Verständnis der Ordination in den Pastoralbriefen*, 1979, p. 38: "Diese Nuancierung des Begriffs πίστις ist Symptom für die zugrundeliegenden Verschiebung im Glaubensverständnis, die analog auch beim Begriff ἀλήθεια sichtbar wurde: die Verschiebung vom existentiellen Aspekt zur Betonung der geglaubten Wahrheit, somit der inhaltlich-objektiven und rationalen Seite in πίστις".

³³ Dibelius, *Briefe*, p. 136 and p. 145: "Des Paulus Glaube ist nicht 'vernünftig', sondern paradox". Lips, *Glaube*, p. 35.

³⁴ Lips, *Glaube*, p. 31

³⁵ 1 Tim: 1,10; 2 Tim: 4:3; Titus 1:9: 2:1

³⁶ 1 Tim 2:4; 2 Tim 2: 25; 3:7; Titus 1:1 and verbally constructed in 1 Tim 4:3. The construction (ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας) only occurs in the Pastorals and in Heb 10:26. Lips, *Glaube*, pp. 33ff. Von Lips considers this construction as parallel with 'truth': "Indem ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας den grundlegenden Akt der Erkenntnis und Anerkenntnis christlicher Glaubenswahrheit meint, ist klar daß es begrifflich parallel zu πίστις verwendet werden kann". Von Lips, *Glaube*, p. 37.

³⁷ Dibelius, *Briefe*, p. 155, mentions that σωφροσύνη is "häufig als Frauentugens genannt" and therefore suggests "Keuschheit" as a translation.

³⁸ The frequent use of the term in the Pastorals is a contrast to the usage elsewhere in the New Testament, where the term occurs in 2 Pet 1:7 and Acts 3:12.

when translating it in his Bible, coined the term *Gottseligkeit*.³⁹ Both words, *eusebeia* and *Gottseligkeit*, had their heyday in the seventeenth century, and were often used in titles of devotional literature.⁴⁰ The Pastoral Letters focus on education, and in Titus 2:12 the three Christianized virtues appear as objects for teaching (*paideia*).⁴¹ This is another indication of why the Pastorals were cherished by the Halle pietists. Anton's and Francke's reception of them is placed in a post-Reformation context, where the letters were used for church ordinations.⁴² To both of them reform of the church was consequently to be attempted by reforming the university. Training pastors would lead to improvement of the church.

5.5 SCRIPTURAL CURA PASTORALIS

Halle has a special role in the reception history of the Pastoral Letters.⁴³ It is both the place where the term was coined and the place where the authenticity of the letters was for the first time questioned.⁴⁴ "Pastoralbriefen" was a "Hallische Sprachschöpfung" coined by Anton.⁴⁵ It occurred as the

³⁹ Johannes Wallmann: "Pietas contra Pietismus. Zum Frömmigkeitsverständnis der lutherischen Orthodoxie" (1998), p. 8. This "Wortprägung Luthers" even gained influence in the reformed and catholic "Sprachraum", Wallmann argues.

⁴⁰ Wallmann, *Frömmigkeitsverständnis*, p. 8: "Man kann nun unschwer erkennen, daß der Begriff 'Pietas' und sein deutsches Äquivalent 'Gottseligkeit' im 17. Jahrhundert einen sehr viel intensiveren Gebrauch und einen höheren Stellenwert haben als im 16. Jahrhundert."

⁴¹ A contemporary Bible scholar, Friedemann Krumbiegel, has argued that the reception of the Pastoral Letters brings to the fore the paedagogical aspect inherent in the Pastorals: "Der Ausblick auf ein spätes Kapitel der Rezeptionsgeschichte kann das pädagogische Potential der drei Briefe sichtbar machen." Krumbiegel, *Erziehung*, p. 24. From the context it is clear that he is alluding to Halle Pietism.

⁴² Von Lips quotes the Calenberger Church Ordination of 1569: "Der Kirchendiener soll aufs fleißigste die epistolas Pauli ad Timotheum et Titum lesen, wiederlesen und oft repetieren, damit er daraus erlerne, wie er sich beide in Lehre und Leben halten ... soll." Lips, *Corpus Pastorale*, p. 52).

⁴³ Von Lips was the first to draw attention to this. *Corpus Pastorale*, pp. 49–71. Later his doctoral student, Krumbiegel, followed the lead and mentions the "vehemente Orientierung an den Pastoralbriefen" in Halle Pietism. *Erziehung*, p. 27.

⁴⁴ In 1807 the critical reception of the Pastorals was begun by Schleiermacher. In his "Kritischen Sendschreiben an J. C. Gass", he questioned the Pauline authorship of 1 Tim. The 'Sendschreiben' summarized lectures Schleiermacher had given during a Winter semester at Halle 1805–1806. See Lips, *Corpus Pastorale*, p. 58.

⁴⁵ Lips. *Corpus Pastorale*, p. 50.

title of his two-volume commentary, which was based on his lectures in 1726 and 1727.⁴⁶

I understand Anton's and Francke's reception of the Pastoral Letters to be in a continuum – the one shades off into the other. The differences are primarily a matter of whether their lectures were called paraenetical, ascetical or pastoral. In his commentary, Anton speaks of “pastoralia” and “cura pastoralis”. Pastoral care is about training and preparing students of theology to a life as ministers. It involves erudition and piety, academic study at the university and practical experience in the church. He is aware that this topos occurs in both biblical and devotional literature; both important sources, of which the Bible is the preferred. His commentary comprises, in addition to the three Pastoral Letters, the seven letters in Rev 2–3, the so-called “Epistolae Apocalypticae”, which he considers to be the prophetic pastoral letters of Christ.⁴⁷ The entire Bible is pastoral – or applicable for pastoral purposes, yet some texts are more apt than others, hence the selection in his commentary.

In the two preliminary chapters, Anton gives an account of “Pastoralia”. He outlines the reform literature in which the subject is treated.⁴⁸ He mentions names of theologians and thinkers who have engaged with pastoral care, especially those who speak of the responsibility of universities for training students in erudition as well as piety.⁴⁹ After the Reformation, pastoral literature emerged “aus einer cura pastorali oder Hirtentreue” which Anton compares to “Posaunen, die uns aufrufen, uns zum Dienst GOTTes bereit zu halten wie sichs vor GOTT und der Kirche geziemet”.⁵⁰ He singles

⁴⁶ The records of the lectures were later edited and published by Johann August Majer in 1753 (vol. 1) and 1755 (vol. 2). *Pauli Antonii Exegetische Abhandlung der Paulinischen Pastoral-Briefe*, Halle: vol. 1, 1753, vol. 2, 1755.

⁴⁷ Anton, *Exegetische Abhandlung*, p. 23

⁴⁸ Three points are listed: “I: Wie die viele *Pastoralia*, so auch nur nach der Reformation in unserer Evangelischen Kirche ausgegangen sind, anzusehen seyen. II) wie *Pastoralia* allerdings zum Studio Theologiae academico gehören, und wie darauf, auch bey dieser Universität, von ihrem Anfange an, sorgfältig *reflectiret* worden sey. III) daß man den rechten Saft und Kraft, auch zu den *Pastoralibus* Scriptis, müsse aus dem Worte GOTTes selbst saugen, wenn sie uns recht zu Nutze kommen sollen”. Anton, *Exegetische Abhandlung*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Anton mentions Martin Luther, Conrad Portae (1541–1585), Erasmus Sarcerius (1501–1559), Paul Tarnov (1562–1633), Johann Gerhard (1682–1637) and Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586), Johann Ludwig Hartmann (1640–1680), Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (1626–1692). *Exegetische Abhandlung*, pp. 5–7. He informs us that his survey draws on a sermon, “Monita Chemnitiana”, republished in 1717 by Christoph Heinrich Rithmeiers. Several of the names mentioned by Anton (and probably in *Monita Chemnitiana*) recur in the entry “Pastoral Theologie” in Johann Heinrich Zedlers’ *Universal-Lexicon*, vol. 43. pp. 947–949.

⁵⁰ Anton, *Exegetische Abhandlung*, p. 15.

out the university at Halle as a place where pastoral oversight is practised. From the beginning, the university combined academic study with pastoral care.⁵¹ He mentions the important works of his two colleagues, Francke and Breithaupt.⁵²

Anton cherishes the “herrliche Scripta pastoralia”, but prefers to draw pastoral instruction directly from Scripture. Here the best examples and models are to be found, and they are directly linked to God’s word. Moreover the biblical approach ensures that the instructions are not confused with mere “Schull-Ideen” or “Schull-Projecten”.⁵³ The pastoral aim is reflected in his exegesis, which is built on two hermeneutical principles. First the text is examined (“textum eruiren”), then the pastoral gain (“porismata pastoralia”) is clarified and applied. The application involves meditation and prayer, as well as withdrawal and self-inspection (ἐπεξε σαυτῷ).⁵⁴ The direct link to God’s word ensures ‘heavenly power’ and establishes a relationship to the apostolic community and the ideal of free speech (παρρησία).

Darum müssen wir alles, als aus dem Munde GOTTes selbst, nehmen, oder wir kriegen, an statt des Brodtes, einen Stein ins Maul, aus eigner Schuld. Fürnemlich aber ist dis nöthig, um der Ursache willen: damit man recht einbalsamiret werde mit Kraft aus der Höhe, daß man in die Gemeinschaft des Apostolischen Sinnes komme, und zu ihrer Parrhesie (Anton, Exegetische Abhandlung, p. 31).

As an example, Anton compares the Great Commission (Matt 10) with “lauter *Progymnasmata* zum Ministerio.” This lesson, he avers, is worth much more than “viele Folianten.”⁵⁵

Anton and Francke share the idea of staying close to the biblical text, while contemporizing its pastoral import. Exegetical meticulousness is per-

⁵¹ Anton, *Exegetische Abhandlung*, p. 16: “Indem ich aber etwas habe angefangen zu sagen de cura pastoralis Academica, so habe ich mich reserviret, ihnen vorzustellen, wie ab initio dieser Universität bey den Lectionibus Theologicis alles sey auf *usum ministerialem* gerichtet worden, bis auf diese Stunde.”

⁵² The references to Francke’s texts are mostly related to the paraenetical corpus: *Timotheus* (1695) *Idea Studiosi Theologiae* (1712) (Anton has a preference for the Latin edition – of 1723 – which contains the *Monita Pastoralia Theologica*), and the LP1 with the paraenetical lectures on Titus (1726). Anton highlights the *Glauchisches Gedenck-Büchlein* (1693) which he regards as a true and instructive liturgy: “Das ist eine wahre Liturgia, wie Pastores den cultum publicum erbaulich einrichten können” (*pastoral*, p. 17). Of Breithaupt’s works is mentioned: “Das Saltz der Erden nach Matth [5, v. 13 in 7 Betrachtungen erklärt]” (1725) and *Institutionum Theologicarum*.

⁵³ Anton, *Exegetische Abhandlung*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ Anton, *Exegetische Abhandlung*, pp. 25–26 and furthermore p. 27: “In diesen Punkten muß du recht inniglich verborgen seyn, recht in dein Kämmerlein verschlossen seyn, damit der Nutzen hervorbreche. ἐπεξε σαυτῷ [1 tim 4:16] Sey über dich selbst ein Inspector”.

⁵⁵ Anton, *Exegetische Abhandlung*, p. 24

fectly consistent with pastoral care. In his commentary, Anton praises Francke's paraenetical lectures on Titus for succeeding in this.

Wen nun dieselbe [*Lectiones Paraeneticae* über die Epistel an Titum] nicht *afficiere*n, den wird nichts *afficire*n; Und ist doch alles gantz gelinde ausgedruckte. Und weil der Autor in diesen *Lectionibus paraeneticis* sich immer an die apostolischen Worte selbst gehalten, desto mehr gehet das ein bey Gemüthern, die etwas vom Worte GOTTes geschmeckt haben (Anton, Exegetische Abhandlung, p. 19).

Just as Francke in *Idea* mentions Anton's lectures on the Pastoral Letters, so does Anton mention Francke in his commentary. We shall now turn to the Titus Lectures.

THE TITUS LECTURES

The ten Titus lectures were held from January to April 1703, but not published before 1726.¹

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The lectures show how theology is drawn from meticulous engagement with the Bible. They examine philological and exegetical structures, analyse the deployment of rhetoric and contemporize the teaching by rendering it into pastoral instructions. It is illustrative, but unsurprising, that Paul Anton praises them for cleaving to the apostolic word, which is evident to them who have tasted God's words.² Unlike the 'simple reader', whom Francke addresses in his treatise on reading the Bible, the reader of the Titus Lectures is presupposed to know his Scripture in Greek and Hebrew. He is expected to study the words, learn from discursive structures in the text and be shaped by the spirit therein.³ In this way erudition is combined with piety, and the experience of the text is related to the reader's ability to be seized by divine *emphasis* of Scripture.

In my study of the Titus Lectures, I have read the Pastoral Letters in Greek. There are points and intertextual references that I would have missed, if I had not done so. Often an exegetical argument, observation or remark is evident in the Greek, but needs clarification when translated. As is customary for Bible commentary, Francke largely explains the Greek, but he continues to use it in his instruction to his students. This means that the lectures are full of Greek words and sentences, which are taken from the scriptures but grammatically and emphatically reshaped by Francke. This generates a hybrid and biblically coded language. I assume that this is part of his purpose of drawing pastoral instructions out of the Bible. I have chosen to keep the Greek in all quotations, but I attempt to stick to the Eng-

¹ The development from oral delivery to the written records of student scribes, to the edition in 1726, is difficult to pursue, since the manuscripts were not kept after the publication. It would be interesting to know how or if the student scribes recorded the large amount of Greek text – the changing grammatical cases and accents – or if it was added later.

² See above.

³ This is stated in the ninth lecture: "Deswegen sollen Studiosi diß sein zu Herten nehmen, daß sie die Schrift fleißig lesen, in der Schrift aber nicht allein die Worte lernen, sondern suchen, daß sie die rechte Gestalt und Art des Geistes Christi und seinen Apostel daraus lernen, und ie mehr und mehr in dieselbe hineindringen, so werden sie recht nützliche Gefäße in der Kirche Gottes einmal werden." LP1, pp. 171–172.

lish translation in my analysis.⁴ The biblically coded language is a treasure-house of central devotional and theological definitions, for instance, what the study of theology implies, what true Christianity is, and how a model student, teacher or pastor should be understood. I shall make one or two general remarks about the form and structure of the lectures.

All of them begin and end with a prayer. God is asked to bless, or thanked for having blessed, the expounded words of value to the listeners. The exegetical treatment is structured by three hermeneutical principles: The *sensus literalis*, the *indoles spiritus paulina*, and the *applicatio*.⁵ The structure is not a rigid pattern, although it consequently arranges the lectures into different sections. The first principle, *sensus literalis*, is to examine words and structures in the text; the second concerns explanation and meaning, the third how the text, duly analysed, can be applied today. The principles are interrelated and often overlap. This means that explanations and applicative instructions may occur in sections examining the *sensus literalis* or the other way around. Twice in the series, the same biblical text is treated in two lectures. In these cases, Francke renders the *sensus literalis* in the first, and the *indoles* and *applicatio* in the following. Besides structuring the lectures, the three hermeneutical principles are central to the way Francke reads and mines the Bible. I shall explain this further and concentrate on four aspects:

- the exegetical context
- the salvific historical context and biblical intertextuality
- explanation, application and contemporization
- the hermeneutic and rhetorical context.

Francke often begins a lecture by explaining or summarizing the exegetical context of Titus. He divides the biblical text into pericopes and examines how these are constructed and how they relate to each other. This exercise shows structures in the texts, and how they disrupt, repeat, emphasize, generate flow, and shape the discursive form of the message. The examination of the exegetical context is mostly treated as part of the “*sensus literalis*”, which also covers morphological, syntactical and semantic analysis. To give an example of how Francke draws attention to structures in the

⁴ English Bible passages are from NRSV, the Greek from Nestle Aland’s *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. 28 (NA28). Francke’s Greek text mostly corresponds with NA28. Except the quotation of the Greek text at the beginning of each lecture, divergence is indicated in my analysis, and when quoting Francke.

⁵ Apart from the *sensus literalis*, the terminological construction of *indoles* and *applicatio* varies. For instance, in the first lecture *indoles* is replaced with *ratio* (“*Spiritus Paulini ratio*”) and *applicatio* is rendered as “*via ad applicationem methodo Paulina formandam*”. LP1, p. 5. In the tenth lecture the *applicatio* is extended with *paraeneticum*.

text and the context, he applies parentheses. By placing words in brackets, it is possible to discern a thematic thread, while highlighting and easing an often difficult syntactical structure.⁶

The aspect concerning the salvific historical context and biblical intertextuality is a broader version of the exegetical context. Francke frequently compares words, arguments and themes to other Pauline, New and Old Testament texts. This aspect is not restricted to the *sensus literalis*, but also applies to the other *indoles* and the *applicatio*. A good example of this occurs in the seventh lecture, where the history of man is drawn out in order to describe what a word such as *salvation* encapsulates.

Francke's reading of Titus is designed to direct and instruct university students, but also a broader public. The *applicatio* contemporizes the biblical teaching by making a feasible link between the biblical text or discursive structure and the contemporary audience. To give an example of this, Francke bends the admonition to the older women in Titus 2:4–5 to point at his students. The students are clearly not venerable women, but like such women, who in 2:5 are described as responsible for instructing younger women, the older students are responsible for younger students. It is thus not the words, but the organizing structure which is brought to bear for the purposes of instruction.

The three hermeneutical principles are based on claims as to what exactly was Paul's intention, competence, affect and spirit. Such rhetorical claims are not randomly made, but based on extensive reading, meticulous examination of words and structures in a Bible text – and knowledge of its broader context. The use of parenthesis is one example of how Francke combines close textual reading with his own claims of Paul's passionate circuitousness.⁷ Twice in the lectures, the first and the ninth, Francke uses the term δεινότητα to describe Paul's intensity and terrific power of rhetoric. He gives no reference for the term, but the context in the first lecture makes a link to Longinus likely. Francke elsewhere makes explicit references to Longinus,⁸ which supports the assumption that the occurrences of

⁶ My favourite example of this is found in the commentary to *Ephesians*. Francke suggests bracketing Eph 3:1–3:13, because of the repetitive structure of Eph 3:1 and 3:14. He furthermore interprets the bracketed words as an expression of Paul's passionate style; Paul forgets himself, but comes back on track, all because of a "brennenden affect": "Dann diese Art zuschreiben kommt bey Paulo aus seinem überfließenden und brennenden affect her/ so daß er sich weitläufftig ergießet/ und doch wieder zur Sache kehret/ wann man meint er habe seiner gleichsam vergessen." *Besondere Einleitung zum rechten Verstande der Epistel Pauli an die Epheser* (1702), Peschke, *SBH 1*, pp. 191–196.

⁷ See the quotation in the previous note.

⁸ See also Joachim Jacob, who examines the Longinian reference in Francke's *Christus als Kern*. "Einfalt. Zu einige ästhetischen und rhetorischen Implikationen eines pietistischen Leitsbegriffs", *HF17:1*, p. 346.

δεινότητα also in the Titus Lectures are steeped in this rhetorical tradition.⁹ I shall attempt a brief explanation of this.¹⁰

6.2 LONGINIAN INTENSITY

Francke's praise of Paul's style is often related to passages in which Paul deviates from rhetorical conventions, or creates his own. Words, sentences, syntactical structures may break down, which at first sight might seem awkward or unintended, but, at a second glance, has its own legitimacy; a sort of rhetoric of non-rhetoric (again, the use of parenthesis is a good example of how order and disorder coexist). This at least is how Francke reads, and suggests we read, Paul.¹¹ The accusative form δεινότητα (of δεινότης) does not occur in the Bible, but is found in Longinus' treatise *On the Sublime*.¹² The treatise takes up the theme of the elevated style, which is not bound to the grand or the ordinary style. Style is a matter of the elevated mind of the rhetoric. In chapter 34, the treatise discusses the different qualities of two Greek orators, Hyperides (c. 390–322) and Demosthenes (c. 384–322). Hyperides is by far the more skilled of the two, but when it comes to greatness and elevation Demosthenes is the more intense. Despite his inferiority as a orator, Demosthenes is divinely gifted with passions, and this generates an elevated style. Longinus first establishes Hyperides' superiority:

If achievements were to be judged by the number of excellences and not by their greatness, Hyperides would then be altogether superior to Demosthenes. He has

⁹ I have further discovered that the word occurs with a direct link to Longinus in a dissertation examined in 1698 at the university in Halle. Johannes Tribbechow defended and Francke presided. His quotation is not from the tenth chapter of Longinus' treatise, as he indicated, but from the twelfth. Johannes Tribbechow: *De emphasibus scripturae*, Halle 1698, §X. The passage he quotes reads "Our countryman with his violence, yes, and his speed, his force, his *terrific power of rhetoric* [δεινότητος], burns, as it were, and scatters everything before him, and may therefore be compared to a flash of lightning or a thunderbolt" *Sublime*, 12.4, p. 209.

¹⁰ I shall refrain from going into the French reception of (pseudo) Longinus' treatise and the debate among scholars in the 17th century on the sublime. See Claudia Henn: *Simplität, Naivität, Einfalt. Studien zur ästhetischen Terminologie in Frankreich und in Deutschland 1674–1771*. Zürich 1974.

¹¹ Longinus' words on the use of hyperbole ("the best hyperbole is the one which conceals the very fact of its being a hyperbole. And this happens when it is uttered under stress of emotion to suit the circumstances of a great crisis." Longinus, *Sublime*, 38.3, p. 281), would chime in with Francke's suggestion of bracketing the words in Eph 3:1–3:13. Cf. quotation above.

¹² Date and authorship are debated, but a date in the first century A. D. is possible. The author of the treatise is unknown. It could have been written in the first century AD, and it has been ascribed to Dionysios Longinus. See the introduction in the Loeb edition of the text, from which I quote. *Longinus: On the Sublime*. Loeb 199.

greater variety of voice and his excellences are more numerous. He may almost be said to come a good second in every competition, like the winner of the Pentathlon (*Sublime*, 34.4., p. 269).

Then follows a description of Demosthenes. He is inferior to Hyperides,¹³ but this is fully compensated by his ability to show sublime intensity and concentrate in himself heavenly gifts. The description is worth quoting, since it resembles Francke's claims as to Paul's affects.

But Demosthenes no sooner "takes up the tale" than he shows the merits of great genius in their most consummate form, sublime intensity, living emotion, redundancy, readiness, speed—where speed is in season—and his own unapproachable vehemence and power: concentrating in himself all these heaven-sent gifts—it would be impious to call them human—he thus uses the beauties he possesses to win a victory over all others that even compensates for his weaknesses, and out-thunders, as it were, and outshines orators of every age. (34.4, p. 273).¹⁴

It is here that the word δεινότητα occurs. Francke uses the declined form of the word, but without mentioning Longinus, Demosthenes or Hyperides. Yet there is a parallel in the sense that he distinguishes the classical authors, Homer, Virgil and Ovid, from the biblical David, Isaiah and Paul. He states that he who has tasted the δεινότητα of the Psalms and the "spiritus Davidici", will no longer have a taste for Homer, Virgil and Ovid (LP1, p. 14). Francke is interested in the passionate affect of the biblical authorities, and this is often expressed in a low or simple discourse: but this is the point rather than a problem. The low style, the *sermo humilis*, is suitable for the highest matter.

6.3 LIST AND PREFACE

"Lectiones Paraeneticæ über die Epistel Pauli an den Titum"

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Lecture: Tit 1:1–4 | (January 25, 1703) |
| 2. Lecture: Tit 1:5–9 | (February 1, 1703) |
| 3. Lecture: Tit 1:10–16 | (February 8, 1703) |

¹³ "Demosthenes, on the other hand, has no gift of characterization or of fluency, is far from facile, and no epideictic orator. In fact he has no part in any one of the qualities we have just mentioned. When he is forced into attempting a jest or a witty passage, he rather raises the laugh against himself; and when he tries to approximate charm, he is farther from it than ever." *Sublime*, 34.3. p. 271.

¹⁴ "ὁ δὲ ἔνθεν ἔλων τοῦ μεγαλοφουεστάτου καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρον ἀρετὰς συντετελεσμένος, ὑψηγορίας τόνον, ἔμψυχα πάθη, περιουσίαν ἀγχίνοιαν τάχος, ἔνθα δὴ καίριον, τὴν ἅπασιν ἀπρόσιτον δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα, φημί, ὥς θεόπεμπτά τινα δωρήματα (οὐ γὰρ εἰπεῖν θεμιτὸν ἀνθρώπινον) ἀθρόα ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἔσπασεν, διὰ τοῦτο οἷς ἔχει καλοῖς ἅπαντας ἀεὶ νικᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἔχει καὶ ὥσπερ καταβροντᾷ καὶ καταφέγγει τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ῥήτορας." *Sublime*, 34.4, p. 272, emphasis added.

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| 4. Lecture: Tit 2:1–6 | (February 15, 1703) |
| 5. Lecture: Tit 2:7–10 | (February 22, 1703) |
| 6. Lecture: Tit 2:11–15 | (March 1. 1703) |
| 7. Lecture: Tit 2:11–15 | (March 8. 1703) |
| 8. Lecture: Tit 3:1–7 | (March 15. 1703) |
| 9. Lecture: Tit 3:1–7 | (March 29. 1703) |
| 10. Lecture: Tit 3:8–15 | (April 19, 1703) |

Francke's preface

The first of the seven volumes of LP comprises the ten lectures on Titus and an additional five on freedom.¹⁵ In the preface (dated 10 May, 1726), Francke informs his readers of the year-long activity of the paraenetical college (see above). He claims not to have followed a strict programme, but instead freely instructed his students on the importance of conversion, Christian conduct (“gründlichen Bekehrung und daraus fliessenden Christlichen Wandel”) and the right way to organize their life as a student (“und zu ordentlicher und weislicher Fortsetzung ihrer Studien”). The purpose of the lectures is to turn them into “brauchbare Arbeiter in dem Weinberge des HERRN” (LP1, pp. 4–5). Former students have written letters to Francke and with grateful thanks assured him of the value of the paraenetical lectures (LP1, pp. 5–6). As we shall see, the lectures on Scripture did in fact follow a strict programme, which incorporated the meticulous exegetical work as well as the pastoral instruction.¹⁶

¹⁵ Three of these lectures were given in 1710, two in 1725, and since the Titus Lectures were delivered in 1703, Francke mentions that LP1 gives an impression “ersten, mittlern und letzten Zeit”. LP1, p. 9.

¹⁶ This is partly in a continuum with Peschke. He also notes that the method was by no means absent. However he sees the Latin lectures as the methodological support to the paraenetical lectures. I suggest that the method inheres in the Titus Lectures.

7.1 FIRST LECTURE: TIT 1:1–4

(1) Paul, a servant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ, for the sake of the faith of God's elect and the knowledge of the truth that is in accordance with godliness, (2) in the hope of eternal life that God, who never lies, promised before the ages began – (3) in due time he revealed his word through the proclamation with which I have been entrusted by the command of God our Savior, (4) To Titus, my loyal child in the faith we share: Grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Savior.

(1) Παῦλος δοῦλος θεοῦ, ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πίστιν ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας τῆς κατ' εὐσέβειαν (2) ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου, ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεὸς πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, (3) ἐφάνερωσεν δὲ καιροῖς ἰδίῳ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐν κηρύγματι, ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγὼ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, (4) Τίτῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ κατὰ κοινὴν πίστιν, χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

Church ordination is a topos in the Pastoral Letters. This makes them most relevant and a “Richtschnur” for students and teachers (LP1, p. 2). Francke comments on the simple style of the Titus Letter (“so ist darinnen *simplicissimus scribendi modus*”, LP1, p. 2). It yields no hidden secrets (“Geheimnisse ... die dunkel und schwer zu verstehen wären”, LP1, pp. 2–3), only readily comprehensible truths (LP1, p. 3). The simple style does not make the letter any less unfathomable, and Francke suggests that it be read repeatedly.

Daher denn geweiß ist, daß einer, ob er gleich diese Epistel hundert mal gelesen hätte, dennoch die Tiefe des Reichthums der göttlichen Weisheit und Erkenntniß, so darinnen lieget, noch nicht gnug wird eingeschauet, oder ergründet haben. Ja so lange man ohne wirkliche Erfahrung diese Epistel *tractiret*, so begreift man wol das allerwenigste, was Paulus *intendiret* hat (LP1, p. 3).

To reach the point of Paul's intention, the letter must be read and contemplated. Francke again mentions how important it is for a *Lehramt* position, and he encourages theology students to pay special attention to it.

Um deswillen sollen denn auch *Theologiae Studiosi* diese Epistel, gleichwie die beyde an den Timotheum, desto lieber haben, sie viel öfter lesen, so viel fleißiger *ponderiren*, vielmehr dieselbe in ihr Gebet fassen und GOtt um seine Erleuchtung Anrufen, damit sie rechter Zeit desselben Schatzes, den sie ihnen dadurch gesammelt haben, geniessen können (LP1, p. 4).

The exegetical treatment is set out in three parts. First the literal sense is examined (“*Sensus literalis*”), then explained in a section which outlines “*Spiritus Paulini ratio*”. Finally, the *applicatio* follows (“*Via ad applicationem methodo Paulina formandam*”, LP1, p. 5). Francke informs us that he will not be giving an exegetical lecture and examining the pericope word for word, but will focus on directing his theology students. This is, he adds, in accordance with ‘our university’.

Was den *sensum literalem* betrifft, so würde es freylich nach gegenwärtigem *instituto* zu weitläufig fallen, alle und iede Worte zu examinieren, da der Zweck ist, in kurtzer Zeit die gantze Epistel durchzugehen: Bevorab, da es nicht dahin angesehen ist, daß diese Stunde in eine *lectionem exegeticam* verwandelt werde, sondern das vornehmste immerdar bleiben soll, nach den Umstände der unserer Vniuersität die *application* zu machen, und diejenigen Stücke zu erinnern, worinnen *Theologiae Studiosi* irgend einiges *impedimentum* in ihren *studiis* oder Christenthum finden, oder worinnen ihnen ein gutes *adminiculum suppediret* werden kann (LP1, p. 5).

Despite his claim of not examining the pericope word by word, this is exactly what he does. This is at least inferable from the philological and exegetical observations.¹⁷ I shall not go through all of Francke's word studies of Tit 1:1-4, but draw attention to the following: "To Titus, my loyal child in the faith we share" (Τίτῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ κατὰ κοινὴν πίστιν).

This heading is the "inscriptio epistolae" to Titus. The three previous verses, 1:1–3, form the "subscriptione" of Paul (LP1, p. 12). This is partly conventional in writing letters, Francke argues, yet something is different. Paul is not complying with "modo ethnico", nor his traditional "grace and peace" (χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη), but spills over with "pro abundantia affectus apostolici." (LP1, p. 13). Francke is here scrutinizing the extended salutation that adds "from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Saviour" to "grace and peace". The extended version he interprets as a expression of emotion.

After examining the words in 1:1–4, he proceeds to the explanation – or how to recognize Paul's spirit.¹⁸ He takes up the distinction between inscription and subscription, and proceeds to elaborate on how Paul's style deviates from convention.

Da sehen wir nun erstlich in diesen 4. Versiculn, welche *subscriptionem & inscriptionem* in sich halten, die *abundantiam affectus sanctissimi in apostolo Paulo*, darinnen der Geist Pauli von der Art aller Profan-Scribenten unterschieden ist (LP1, p. 13).

The first four verses are full of abundant apostolic affect, which makes them different from words written by literate pagans. Their ornamented eloquence may have an enchanting effect, but this simple style imbued with divine vigour and inspiration exceeds it by far.

Es kan einen Menschen sehr bezaubern, wann er der Heydnischen Redner Beredsamkeit, und ihre geschmückten Worte siehet und lieset. Wenn ihm aber von GOtt die Augen aufgethan werden, dass er die δεινότηα *stili*, den Nachdruck

¹⁷ The first thing Francke comments on in the opening line of Titus 1:1 is the particle 'and' / δὲ in "Paul, a servant of God *and* an apostle of Jesus Christ" ("Παῦλος δοῦλος θεοῦ, ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ"). In Greek the δὲ is usually a "particula adversativa", but in this context, Francke states that it should be interpreted as "subordinieret" and not "opponieret". LP1, p. 5.

¹⁸ LP1, p. 13: "*Spititus Paulini rationem*, wie der Geist Pauli darinnen zu erkennen sey".

der Schreib=Art des Heiligen Geistes, und den Unterschied zwischen der göttlichen Kraft in denen *viris θεόπνεύτοις* [sic]¹⁹, und derjenigen Schwäche, die sich bey denen *profanis scriptoribus* findet, recht erkennt; so siehet er, daß gegen die Heil. Schrift alles für Stroh und Stoppeln zu achten sey (LP1, p. 14).

Francke here draws attention to the difference between the vigour of divine inspiration and the absence of it in pagan authors.²⁰ The divine rhetoric is evident in the way Paul inscribes and subscribes the letter to Titus.²¹ The formula of epistolary salutation among the pagan writers follows the pattern ‘*Marcus Tullius Cicero Octavio Augusto salutem*’, but Paul omits his name.²² Instead he calls himself “a servant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ” (δοῦλος θεοῦ, ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). Francke reminds his students to pay close attention to Paul’s words and the “abundantiam seines affects” (LP1, 16–17).

Proceeding to the *applicatio*,²³ Francke explains the difference between Romans, Ephesians and the Pastoral Letters. Of the 16 chapters in Romans, the first 11 are full of praise for the mercy of Christ. The remaining chapters, 12 to 16, are rich in application (“abundantissime in applicatione”).²⁴ Of the six chapters in Ephesians, the first three explain the holy doctrine (“in explicatione dogmatum sanctissimorum”), the following three, how it should be applied (“und darnach im 4,5,6, Capitel ist die application von denselbigen”, LP1, p. 17). The distinction between doctrine and application

¹⁹ Probably a compositor’s error for “*viris θεόπνεύτοις*”. By coincidence, I noticed this construction in Johannes Tribbechow’s dissertation, *De emphasibus scripturae*, Halle 1698, §XIV, line 8–9: “*nihil enim frustra dictum aut positum est a viris θεόπνευτοις ...*”

²⁰ This is the place, I referred to above: in the subsection on Longinian Intensity.

²¹ LP1, pp. 14–15: “Nun das hat man auch an Paulo zu erkennen, und kann es auch hier in der *inscriptione* und *subscriptione* dieses Briefen sehen, welche von der Aufschrift und Unterschrift Heydnischer Briefe weit unterschieden ist.”

²² Commenting on the Latin meaning of *paulus*, Francke argues that Paul could easily have signed with his name, since it is far from “*sine spiritu & affectu Paulino*” – and further on: “Denn er hat diesen Namen ohne Zweifel angenommen, sich hierdurch um so vielmehr zu erniedrigen. Denne Paulis ist ein lateinischer Name, von dem Wort, paulo, paululum, und zieleit er darauf, wenn er sich den ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ nennet, einen, der kleiner ist, als der Kleinste unter allen heiligen (Eph 3,8 [Ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ πάντων ἁγίων]) LP1, p. 15.

²³ LP1, p. 17: here referred to as “*Viam ad applicationem methodo Paulina formandam*”.

²⁴ LP1, p. 17: “Denn Paulus hat dieses in sonderheit in der Art in seinen Briefen, daß, wenn er erstlich in *abundantia spiritus apostolici* ausgeflossen ist, die göttliche Wahrheit auszubreiten, er hernach in *pari abundantia* auch in der *applicatio* ausfließet, als zu sehen ist in der Epistel an der Römer, da er bis ins eilfte [sic] Capitel, die in Christo Jesu ist, anzupreisen. Darnach im 12. 13. 14. 15. und 16. Capitel fließet er wieder *abundantissime* aus in *applicatione*. So sehen wirs ebenfalls, daß ers in den folgenden Episteln macht, als in der Epistel an die Epheser.”

is important, since one fits the other. When reading the application, one must always look back to the words used in the previous sections. Then it becomes clear, how the parts fit each other.

Da ist also wohl in acht zu nehmen, daß man in der *applicatione Paulina* immer zurück sehen muß auf seine Worte, die er vorhin gebrauchet hat, so wird man finden, daß wie eine Hand auf die andere passet, also auch die *applicatio Paulina* auch die *propositionem dogmaticam* sich schicket, und immer das, was er darnach saget, aus dem Vorhergehenden hergeleitet ist (LP1, pp. 17–18).

The peculiarity of the Pastoral Letters is that doctrine and application are from first to last intertwined. They are thus consistently practical. It is not necessary to look for the application in the last section of the letter, since it is present in each and every verse.²⁵

The four opening verses of Titus offer the components for a perfect definition of theology. Francke gives the definition in his biblically coded language: “Theologia est ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας τῆς κατ’ εὐσέβειαν vel πίστις ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ, ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αἰωνίου” – ‘Theology is knowledge of the truth which is most fit for godliness and the faith of God’s elect in the hope of eternal life.’ This definition applies to all theology students, who must conform to it:

Nach dieser definition soll ein ieder Studiosus Theologiae sein studium theologicum examiniren, und sich prüfen, ob er dasselbe dahin führe, daß der Glaube der Auserwählten GOttes in seines Seele gewircket werde ... “ (LP1, p. 18).

To conform to this definition means that the student must not only show knowledge (γνῶσις) in his studies, but strive towards ἐπίγνωσις – “eine lebendige Erkenntniß der Wahrheit in seiner Seele erlange” (LP1, pp. 18–19). He should not only obtain truth but “truth that is in accordance with godliness”:

daß er nicht allein ἀλήθειαν fasse, davon zu disputieren, sondern daß er ἀληθειάν τὴν κατ’ εὐσέβειαν fasse, und ein iegliches *dogma theologicum* ihn dahin leite, daß er GOtt ernstlicher, und nach seinem Willen wohlgefälliger dienen möge, ja daß, ie länger er Theologiam studiret, ie mehr auch die Hoffnung des ewigen Lebens in seinem Hertzen und in seiner Seele bevestiget werde. Das hiesse recht Theologiam studiren (LP1, p. 19).

We here see how Francke literally maps the biblical words onto his theology students. The instructions in 1:1–4 need no or only minor grammatical adjustment in order to be applied. Once this definition of theology is established, the students may seek employment in the “Lehr=Amt” and say

²⁵ LP1, p. 18: “Die Briefe aber an den Titum und Timotheum sind so beschaffen, das sie *totæ quantæ quantæ sunt, practicae* sind. Daher man nicht erst in den letzten Capiteln die *application* zu suchen hat; sondern sich befleißigen muß, von allem, was er schreibt, alsobald die *applicatione* auf sich zu machen.”

with Paul ἐν κηρύγματι, ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγὼ – “the proclamation with which I have been entrusted”. One cannot obtain a position in the Lehr-Amt by one’s own means, it must be granted by God (LP1, p. 19). Francke ends the first lecture with a prayer to God, that he will make the words spoken bear fruit.

To sum up: this first lecture draws attention to the rhetorical character of the letter. The letter is written in a simple style, which is apt for rendering a rhetoric imbued with apostolic spirit and authority. The theological profile of all the Pastoral Letters is that doctrine and instruction are coterminous throughout all chapters. Moreover, the Titus Letter offers a definition of theology, which Francke recommends to his students.

7.2 SECOND LECTURE: TITUS: 1: 5–9

(5) I left you behind in Crete for this reason, so that you should put in order what remained to be done, and should appoint elders in every town, as I directed you: (6) someone who is blameless, married only once, whose children are believers, not accused of debauchery and not rebellious. (7) For a bishop, as God’s steward, must be blameless; he must not be arrogant or quick-tempered or addicted to wine or violent or greedy for gain; (8) but he must be hospitable, a lover of goodness, prudent, upright, devout, and self-controlled. (9) He must have a firm grasp of the word that is trustworthy in accordance with the teaching, so that he may be able both to preach with sound doctrine and to refute those who contradict it.

(5) Τούτου χάριν ἀπέλιπόν σε ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγὼ σοι διεταξάμην, (6) εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἀνέγκλητος, μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ, τέκνα ἔχων πιστά, μὴ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ ἀσωτίας ἢ ἀνυπότακτα. (7) δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι ὡς θεοῦ οἰκονόμον, μὴ αὐθάδῃ, μὴ ὀργίλον, μὴ πάροινον, μὴ πλήκτην, μὴ αἰσχροκερδῇ, (8) ἀλλὰ φιλόξενον φιλάγαθον σώφρονα δίκαιον ὅσιον ἐγκρατῇ, (9) ἀντεχόμενον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου, ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾦ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν.

Francke runs through the words and structures in these verses. I have selected a couple of them. He takes up the expression “put in order”, which in Greek is rendered with the one word ἐπιδιορθώσῃ (1:5). This word is constructed from other words, and in the New Testament, such a “vocem compositam” often contains “eine grosse *emphasis*” (LP1, p. 24). Francke explains the double intensification of the word *orthoō* – to set straight:

ὀρθόω heißt schon zu recht bringen διορθόω ist noch mehr, nemlich etwas durchaus suchen zu rechte zu bringen, ἐπιδιορθόω aber heißt noch über dem etwas suchen durch und durch zu rechte zu setzen. (LP1, p. 24).

He points out that the word is employed to convey that Titus must complete what Paul has initiated (LP1, p. 25).

In 1:7 a bishop is mentioned. The reason why a “vorsteher der Gemeinde” has to be blameless is that he is God’s housekeeper. Francke takes

note of the development of the description: first is outlined what he should not be, then what he should. Not arrogant (μὴ αὐθάδη), but certainly sober and chaste (σώφρονα) (LP1 28–30).

In the explanation – ‘what to learn from Paul’s spirit’ – Francke claims that the pericope of 1:5–9 intensifies what has preceded it. A shift of pace occurs from abundance to holiness – “*abundantia spiritus paulini*” to “*ἁγιωσύνην spiritus paulini*” (LP1, p. 32). The shift occurs because Titus is appointed with authority. He must “put in order what remained to be done” (1:5). The appointment is in accordance with Christ’s sound teaching and is here justified in an apostolic spirit.²⁶ Titus is a model for bishops (LP1, p. 33), and this is why the description in 1:7–8 is so important, both the negative and the positive part. It is not a mere recommendation or a choice, but a necessity, hence the δεῖ γὰρ in 1:7, argues Francke. It does not suffice to repeat the words like a “Papagey”. The bishop is not a lodger (“Mietling”) in God’s household, but its *steward* (οἰκονόμον τοῦ θεοῦ) (LP1, p. 33).

‘Paul’s spirit’ is furthermore acknowledged by his ‘love of order’ (“*amans ordinis*”). “Weiter haben wir zu erkennen, daß *spiritus Pauli* ist gewesen *amans ordinis*, so wol in *ecclesia plantanda & constituenda, quam conservanda*.” (LP1, p. 34). Church ordination is critical for planting, constituting and preserving the church. Francke states that it is a great mistake to think that a church ministry (“*ministerium ecclesiasticum*”) is dispensable “weil ja alle Christen geistliche Priester wären” (LP1, p. 35). This is not “*spiritus Paulinus*, sondern *spiritus erroris*” (LP1, p. 35). Francke does not favour the idea of a priesthood of common believers, but instead focuses on how church ordination is in accordance with the Bible. He explains how the description of God’s housekeeper (1:7–8) applies to the students. When they hold positions in the *Lehramt*, they must show themselves to be righteous “*presbyteri und episcopi*” (LP1, p. 36). This implies that they must refrain from the negative descriptions in 1:7 and display the positive virtues of 1:8. Consider the following description of the word un-arrogant (μὴ αὐθάδη):

Denn da der Apostel saget, ein Lehrer soll nicht seyn αὐθάδης, was ist bisher bekannter gewesen als αὐθάδεια Studiosorum? Was ist wol für ein stolzer Thier, als ein Student gewesen? Wenn er nur von der Schulen kommen, und einige Worte Latein mitgebracht, da ist gleich ein Handwercks-Bursch, ein Kauffmanns-Bursch, alles nichts in seinen Augen gewesen (LP1, p. 36).

The arrogant student who looks down on others, is the opposite of a true servant of God. Arrogance and stubbornness is a pitfall when it contaminates the *Lehrstand* and the minister becomes a despot:

²⁶ LP1, p. 32: “Die Heylsame Lehre unsers Heylandes JEsu Christi, wie sie durch den Apostolischen Geist vorgetragen worden, so wird sie auch mit den ἁγίασμῶ τῶ πνεύματῳ gezieret.”

Denn dadurch sind die größten Greul in die gantze Christenheit eingeführet worden, daß darnach solche Leute in ihrer αὐθάδεια sind ins LehrꝛAmt hinein gerücket, und haben hernach diesen Hochmut behalten, daß sie gemeynet, der Pfarrherr sey der vornehmste Mann im Dorfe, und er müsse seinen Rang so oder so behaupten, über andere zu herrschen (LP1, p. 37).

In a similar way, Francke gives instructions as to how future ministers must refrain from being “quick-tempered,” “addicted to wine,” “violent” and “greedy for gain” (1:7) (LP1, p. 38). I shall quote the instruction on avoiding “greed for gain” (αἰσχροκερδία), since it chimes in with Francke’s self-defence in his sermon *Pflicht gegen den Armen*.²⁷

Da hat man gesehen, daß studenten die allerverthuligsten Leute gewesen, die Haab und Gut ihren Eltern durchgebracht haben. Hernach haben sie gesucht, wie sie in dem Amte solches wieder einbringen möchten, welches die allergreulichste αἰσχροκερδία gewesen, wenn man nemlich die εὐσέβειαν also getrieben, und das Evangelium also verkündiget, daß man ein Gewerbe daraus gemacht. Daher es auch hernach geschehen ist, daß man sich keinen Scrupel darüber gemacht, allerhand Arten hervor zu suchen, daß man Geld machen möchte, mit grossen Aergerniß und Anstoß der Gemeine (LP1, p. 38).

What he instructs his students not to do, comes uncomfortably close to what he seems to have been doing with his reform project. Yet in *Grosse Aufsatz* he insistently states that he is raising funds for a project which respects God and serves man. In his advice to his students, the focus is on their own profit.

If we turn to the positive description in 1:8, Francke declares that this verse is a moral compass for all students. He combines it with 1 Tim 3:10 (“And let them first be tested; then, if they prove themselves blameless, let them serve as deacons”) to emphasize that blamelessness must be tested. This is, furthermore, an endeavour which is made here and now; it is not postponed to life after Halle.

Also soll es keiner sparen bis er ins Amt kömmt, sondern ietzt, da man noch das *studium theologicum* tractiret, da soll man suchen, denselben *divinum habitum* in seiner Seele zu erlangen, und das Geheimniß des Glaubens in einem reinem Gefäß des Gewissens zu bewahren, so kann man sich hernach mit frölichem Herten ins LehrꝛAmt senden lassen (LP1, p. 39).

The passage shows how the mindset of God’s housekeeper must become a divine habit for the students at Halle. It is noticeable too that the ‘secret’ or the ‘mystery of faith’ is contained in a clean vessel of the conscience. In the Pastorals the notion of faith is no longer a paradox: it is put on display and has developed a rational trait. This is here reflected in Francke’s explanation to his students.

At the end of the pericope, 1:5–9, “sound doctrine” is placed in the last verse. Francke makes a point of this, namely that Paul’s erudition was not a

²⁷ See the first part.

decisive criterion for the apostle, in fact “der hat *doctrinam ultimo loco* gesetzt” (LP1, p. 42). Nor, adds Francke, is erudition the decisive factor for a position in the *Lehramt*. Divine vigour is what makes the difference:

Ein Quentlein göttlicher Kraft ist viel wichtiger im LehrꝛAmt, als viel Centner *erudition*, und ein Tröpflein göttlicher Liebe, die in der Seele wohnet, giebt mehr Sieg und Überwindung zur Zerbrechung des Reiches des Satans, und zur Aufrichtung des Reiches Gottes in den Herten der Menschen, als ein gantzes Meer voller Wissenschaft (LP1, p. 42).

At the end of the lecture, Francke reminds his students to strictly observe the balance between praying and working – and to fight “the good fight of the faith” (1 Tim 6:12; 2 Tim 4:7). This benefits the *Lehramt*.

Das hat man nun wohl zu bedencken, und dahin zu sehen, daß man Beten und Arbeiten in seine rechte *balance* gegen einander setze, daß man mit dem rechten Ernst ansetze, τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως zu kämpfen, wie Paulus den Timotheum erinnert, und auf der andern Seite dasjenige, was einem im LehrꝛAmte nöthig seyn möchte, zu lernen nicht verabsäume (LP1, p. 42).

In the closing prayer, Francke asks that God may grant the students knowledge and wise hearts (LP1, p. 43).

To sum up: The description of God’s steward is offered as a model for the students. They should not postpone their attempt to conform to the model, but begin practising immediately, while still living in the seedling nursery at Halle. The description both prescribes what the student must refrain from – arrogance – and the ideal he must embody. Furthermore, the lecture introduces the distinction between erudition and divine vigour.

7.3 THIRD LECTURE: TIT 1:10–16

(10) There are also many rebellious people, idle talkers and deceivers, especially those of the circumcision; (11) they must be silenced, since they are upsetting whole families by teaching for sordid gain what it is not right to teach. (12) It was one of them, their very own prophet, who said, “Cretans are always liars, vicious brutes, lazy gluttons.” (13) That testimony is true. For this reason rebuke them sharply, so that they may become sound in the faith, (14) not paying attention to Jewish myths or to commandments of those who reject the truth. (15) To the pure all things are pure, but to the corrupt and unbelieving nothing is pure. Their very minds and consciences are corrupted. (16) They profess to know God, but they deny him by their actions. They are detestable, disobedient, unfit for any good work.

(10) Εἰσὶν γὰρ πολλοὶ [καὶ] ἀνυπότακτοι, ματαιολόγοι καὶ φρεναπάται, μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς, (11) οὓς δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν, οἵτινες ὅλους οἴκους ἀνατρέπουσιν διδάσκοντες ἃ μὴ δεῖ αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν. (12) εἶπέν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης· Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. (13) ἡ μαρτυρία αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀληθής· δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν ἐλεγχε αὐτοὺς ἀποτόμως, ἵνα ὑγιαίνωσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει, (14) μὴ προσέχοντες Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις καὶ ἐντολαῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀποστρεφόμενων τὴν ἀλήθειαν. (15) πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς καθαροῖς· τοῖς δὲ

μεμιασμένοι καὶ ἀπίστοις οὐδὲν καθαρὸν, ἀλλὰ μεμΐανται αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ συνείδησις. (16) θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις ἀρνοῦνται, βδελυκτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπειθεῖς καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἀδόκιμοι.

The pericope 1:10–16 ends the first chapter of Titus. Francke explains how 1:10 relates to the previous pericope. 1:9 ended with an instruction to the bishop: he must be capable of admonishing, but also of refuting those who contradict the sound teaching. Francke suggests that the gainsayers (ἀντιλέγοντας) be carried over into 1:10 and the ‘also’ omitted: “There are many *gainsayers*”.²⁸ This reading permits him to see the “rebellious people, idle talkers and deceivers” of 1:10 as different epithets for gainsayers. He argues: “Er [Paulus] beschreibet die ἀντιλέγοντας, daß sie wären 1) ἀνυπότακτοι, 2) ματαιολόγοι, und 3) φρεναπάται” (LP1, p. 45). He makes further reference to the previous pericope to explain the context of these ‘gainsayers’. The turbulence of rebels stems from a lack of will: “Dieses ἀνυπότακτοι beziehet sich also sonderlich auf die Unordnung des Willens” (LP1, p. 46): the “idle talkers” (ματαιολόγοι) are those whose theology is infected by vain talk, and they are φρεναπάται – deceivers (LP1, p. 48).

Francke briefly mentions, but gives no comment on “especially those of the circumcision” (1:10). He moves instead to the following verse, “they must be silenced”, which literally reads “whose mouth must be stopped” (“Welchen man muß das Maul Stopfen”, LP1, p. 47). It is the duty of a “presbyter” or an “episcopus” to do so. Titus is contrasted to the gainsayer, Francke argues, with reference to Titus 2:1 “Σὺ δὲ λάλει ᾧ πρέπει τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ. Du aber rede, was der Heylsame Lehre convenient ist” (LP1, p. 47).

The prophet mentioned in 1:12, Diogenes Laërtius, is, although not biblical, perfectly capable of foreseeing future events.²⁹ The following verse 1:13 instructs us on how to react and rebuke the “thierische Unart und brutalität” of man. Francke draws attention to the word for *sharply rebuke*, ἔλεγχε:

Da ist nun zu mercken, daß das Wort ἔλεγχε nicht nur refutationem errorum in sich fasset, sondern auch was wir ἐπανόρθωσις [correcting] nennen, oder die Bestrafung der Laster (LP1, p. 49).

I shall not comment further on the examination of words and structures, but move on to the “*indoles spiritus Paulini*”. Francke explains 1:10-16, as the “σεμνότης oder gravitas Paulina in vindicanda veritate adversus eius

²⁸ Francke’s suggestion of omitting καὶ (and/ also) is supported in some manuscripts. The variation occurs in NA28, where the word is placed in square brackets: Εἰσὶν γὰρ πολλοὶ [καὶ].

²⁹ LP1, p. 48: “Er [Paulus] führet dabey den Diogenem Laërtium an, der von dem Epimenide erzehlet, daß er auch unter andern cognitionem futurorum gehabt, und viele Dinge vorher gesagt habe, die auch eingetroffen.”

corruptores” (LP1, p. 53). The passage is full of impetus and church discipline. The rebuking and silencing of gainsayers is a grave matter for church discipline, yet it must be done in an ‘apostolic way’ with “hertzliche Liebe” (LP1, p. 54). In order to remind the theology students of the aim of the *elenchus*, he first takes up the three epithets describing the gainsayers, and then the clause in 1:13.

Es ist aber nicht vergeblich in dem 13. Vers der finis angezeigt, warum man den elenchum gebrauchen soll, nemlich ἵνα ὑγιαίνωσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει. Und das muß man wohl mercken. Gleichwie von aller Kirchen-disciplin das der Zweck seyn muß, daß eine Besserung erfolge, also ist es auch mit dem elencho, der mit Worten geschieht. Der muß keinen andern Zweck haben, als die Besserung, damit der Irrende möge errettet und auf den rechten Weg gebracht werden. Ein Lehrer soll ein Vater seyn (LP1, p. 56).

Teachers must be like fathers, and correction and punishment must serve to better and direct the wrongdoer back onto the straight and narrow track. Francke explains how the quality of the Pauline spirit (*indoles spiritus paulini*) is valuable for the theology student. It teaches him how to treat his adversaries and how he must take into account the purpose of his sharp utterances (LP1, p. 57).

In the application of the pericope, Francke takes up the “Wörtlein” in 1:10 “Es sind viele ἀνυπότακτοι, die auf keinerley Weise in Ordnung zu bringen sind.” (LP1, p. 57). The rebellious student is one, who is ‘out of order’, he has no superior to whom he must stand up straight: “Ein Studiosus ist eine solche Person, die in keiner Ordnung stehen will, sondern thut, was er gelüftet” (LP1, p. 58). Francke compares student life to other professions: the subordinate at court must pay attention to “ieden Winck” of his superior; the soldier to his officer; the craftsman to his master. In fact, only students bend the rule:

Nur Studiosi sind so eine besondere Art von Menschen, die sich eine *licentiam* angemasset, welche bisher *pestis ecclesiae* gewesen, und unsrer Evangelischen Kirche in Wahrheit zu einem Schandfleck gedienet hat. Vniversitaeten haben sollen *officinae spiritus sancti* heissen, und sind nichts anders gewesen, als eine frequenz, davon es geheissen, wie es stehet: εἰσι[v] πολλοὶ ἀνυπότακτοι, und dieselbe sind hernach so ins Lehr-Amt hinein gekommen. Da ist keine Brechung ihres eignen Willens, das ist keine Veränderung des Hertzens vorgegangen. (LP1, p. 58).

The description of the truculent and unruly student recurs in the ninth lecture. In the present case, the theme is introduced in a comment on the gainsayers. The ‘unruly’ adversary of Paul, Titus and the church is suddenly the unauthentic and impious student and future minister. We here see how Francke mines the Bible to map points from the scriptures onto his own time and situation. The students are of course not identical to the gainsayers mentioned in Titus 1:10, but the description of them can be made to admonish and direct students. He mentions the privileges of the Halle uni-

versity, and how preceptors no longer draw financial advantage from students. “Man weiß, daß studiosi hier eher gewohnet sind, von ihren *praeceptoribus* genehret zu werden, als daß diese suchten von ihnen reich zu werden” (LP1, p. 60). The target for the pastoral training at Halle is to make faithful servants of God, “die ihre Theologie nicht als ein Handwerck trieben, sondern mit Christi Geist gegen die Höllen-Pforten gerüstet seyn möchten...” (LP1, p. 59).

To sum up: the third lecture contrasts Titus, the sound speaker, with the vain gainsayers. Church discipline, the rebuttal of adversaries and admonition are some of the main themes introduced. In the explanation and application of the text, the description of the gainsayers is bent round to point at the students. Unlike other social groups, they do not respond to a master, and this makes them unruly and rebellious. They must be modelled after Titus, and thus be sound speakers, not vain gainsayers.

7.4 FOURTH LECTURE: TIT 2:1–6

(1) But as for you, teach what is consistent with sound doctrine. (2) Tell the older men to be temperate, serious, prudent, and sound in faith, in love, and in endurance. (3) Likewise, tell the older women to be reverent in behavior, not to be slanderers or slaves to drink; they are to teach what is good, (4) so that they may encourage the young women to love their husbands, to love their children, (5) to be self-controlled, chaste, good managers of the household, kind, being submissive to their husbands, so that the word of God may not be discredited. (6) Likewise, urge the younger men to be self-controlled.

(1) Σὺ δὲ λέλει ἃ πρέπει τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ. (2) Πρεσβύτεας νηφαλίους εἶναι, σεμνοῦς, σώφρονας, ὑγιαίνοντας τῇ πίστει, τῇ ἀγάπῃ, τῇ ὑπομονῇ. (3) πρεσβύτιδας ὡσαύτως ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς, μὴ διαβόλους μὴ οἶνω πολλῷ δεδουλωμένας, καλοδιδασκάλους, (4) ἵνα σωφρονίζωσιν τὰς νέας φιλόανδρους εἶναι, φιλοτέκνους (5) σώφρονας ἀγνὰς οἰκουργοὺς ἀγαθὰς, ὑποτασσομένας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημῇται. (6) Τοὺς νεωτέρους ὡσαύτως παρακάλει σωφρονεῖν.

Francke divides the second chapter of Titus into three sections, the first of which is 2:1–6. He begins with examining the literary sense, moves on to explanation (*indoles*) and the *applicatio*. He takes note of a correspondence between verses 2:1 and 2:15, which both instruct Titus on how he will speak.

Aus dieser *collation* des 1sten, und 15sten Versiculs ist zu erkennen, daß, wenn er im ersten Vers saget: Σὺ δὲ λέλει, daß in dem λέλει mit begriffen sey, was er hernach mit special- Worten andeutet, nemlich das παρακάλῃ und ἐλέγχῃ (LP1, pp. 63–64).

The link between 2:1 and 2:15 makes it possible to render ‘speak’ (λέλει) in 2:1 with ‘teach’, although strictly the word means only ‘speak’. He mentions the emphatic construction of “but as for you” (Σὺ δὲ), which

harks back to the preceding chapter, and contrasts Titus with those who “must be silenced” in 1:11 (LP1, p. 64). The expression ‘sound doctrine’ is according to Francke an important part of Paul’s style (“höret mit zu den Kennzeichen des Paulinischen stili”, LP1, p. 64). The word σεμνούς prescribes the correct attitude among the older men (2:2) The word means ‘serious,’ and according to Francke it relates to the attitude among the first Christians. In addition to this, it prescribes the right attitude today to indifferent things:

Das Wort σεμνούς bedeutet nicht allein *gravitatem in externis gestibus*, sondern auch *gravitatem animi*, welches eine sonderbare Sache und mit dem Christenthum genau verbunden ist, daher die ersten Christen einen Abscheu hatten an allen denenjenigen Dingen, welche heutiges Tages unter dem Namen indifferenter Dinge von einigen vertheidiget worden als Tantzen, Spielen, u.d.gl. vornehmlich weil solche Dinge der σεμνότητι christianae, der christlichen Ernsthaftigkeit, als welche mit göttlichen und himmlischen Dingen zu thun hat, ganz zuwider sind (LP1, p. 66).

Christian seriousness means revulsion from adiaphora and enjoyable leisure. Adiaphora is in strict opposition to important – godly and heavenly – things. The word σώφρονας pertains to “Mässigkeit im Essen und Trincken” but also “Gesundheit des Gemüthes” (LP1, p. 65). To be “sound in faith, in love, and in endurance” (2:2) reflects the “stili Paulini” (LP1, p. 67). The older women in 2:3 are likewise to be “reverent in behaviour”. Francke comments on the two words: ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς. Some translate the word καταστήματι with “Kleidung”, but it affects all habits and gestures “totum habitum ac gestum” (LP1, p. 67). Francke is fond of the word “ἱεροπρεπεῖς”, which he renders “wie es den Heiligen ziehmet”. The word has a special emphasis:

Es ist ein sonderbares schönes Wort; wie denn im neuen Testament auf die vocabula composita insonderheit acht zu haben ist, als worinnen eine sonderliche Zierlichkeit, und zugleich ein göttlicher Nachdruck lieget (LP1, p. 67).

The older women must refrain from wine, “nicht Mägde des Weins werden” (LP1, p. 68). They “are to teach what is good” (καλοδιδασκάλους). Francke mentions that the theme of female teachers adds an aspect to 1 Pet 3:1, where the women’s *wordless* conduct convinces the unzealous husbands.³⁰ In 2:3 women are allowed to “teach what is good” as long as it is not public.³¹ He observes that the young men in 2:6 also are admonished to be “self-controlled” (σωφρονεῖν). The word occurs

³⁰ 1 Pet 3:1: “Wives, in the same way, accept the authority of your husbands, so that, even if some of them do not obey the word, they may be won over without a word by their wives’ conduct.”

³¹ LP1, p. 68: “καλοδιδασκάλους, gute Lehrerinnen, vornehmlich mit ihrem eignen Exempel, nach 1. Petr. 3.1. dann auch mit Worten, ob gleich nicht öffentlich in der Gemeinde.”

four times in the pericope, and Francke considers it as a “general-Wort” for the entire conduct of man:

Σωφρονεῖν ist ein general-Wort, und kan alles das begreifen, was vorher durch mehrere special-Worte ausgedrucket ist. Denn die σωφροσύνη erstrecket sich in den gantzen Wandel und in all pflichten, die man gegen sich selbst, und gegen seinen Nächsten zu beobachten hat (LP1, p. 69).

Moving on to the *indoles spiritus Paulini*, Francke explains how Paul’s teaching of Titus is a guideline to all (LP1, p. 70). Titus is instructed in how to instruct others. The instructions are basic, but there is a point to this. Paul was one, who had been in “den dritten Himmel” and had heard “unaussprechliche Worte”, could easily have spoken of “lauter hohe und sonderbare Dinge” (LP1, p. 70). Yet he chose not to, and this is what signifies, and “daraus können wir vieles lernen” (LP1, p. 70). Francke explains this further with the example of children, who get a new dress for Christmas and are eager to show it to all the world; or theology students, who find a “sönderliche explication eines loci scripturae sacrae” or make some other observation, and at once feel an urge to share it with everyone (LP1, p. 72). The risk of such eagerness is that it only serves our own pleasure and not that of others. Moderation is required and the *indoles* of Paul’s spirit is in 2:1-6 a good example of this: “So hat man demnach *indolem spiritus Paulini* sich recht vorzustellen, der hatte ein solch hohes Erkenntniß, als unser keiner hat, und ließ sich doch so herunter in die Nothdurft der Gemeine” (LP1, p. 72). Paul’s great knowledge is, on many levels, a godsend for the congregation.

Francke is reminded of an episode, where a visiting teacher came to Halle and was surprised by the simple catechetical teaching (“...Einfältigkeit von der Haus-Tafel, wie es die Gelegenheit der Catechismus-Predigten mit sich brachte, öffentlich lehrete...” LP1, p. 73). He soon realized that he was wrong in looking down on this practice (LP1, p. 73). With the anecdote Francke presents a remarkable ideal of what a teacher is. He compares him to a tall tree, growing upwards, with long arms reaching downwards, offering assistance and fruit for the weak who have no ladder:

Ein Lehrer muß die Art derjenigen Bäume haben, die zwar hoch gewachsen sind, aber doch ihre Zweige ausbreiten, und herunter gegen die Erde hängen lassen, damit, wenn, auch einer unter gehet, der keiner Leiter hat, darauf er hinauf steigen könnte, er doch von ihrer Frucht etwas erreichen und geniessen könne. So muß ein Lehrer auch seyn, wenn er in dem Erkenntniß noch so hoch gewachsen ist, so muß er doch seine Zweige herunter lassen, auf daß diejenigen, so am allerschwächsten sind, auch seiner geniessen können ... (LP1, pp. 73–74).

This ideal of a teacher, erudite yet considerate towards others, chimes in with the context of 2:1-6. Paul gives instruction to Titus, and passes the basic instructions on to the church. The presupposed assumption for Francke and his audience is that the theological contents of 2:1-6 constitute

the basic level. Some find it tiresome and unattractive, but Francke stresses its importance.

Moving on to the application of the pericope, he uses verses 2:1-6 as a vehicle to address his students.

Da ist es nun sonderlich darauf zu sehen, wie Paulus erstlich die Alten, darnach die Jüngern ermahnet, und will, daß die Alten gleichsam Mitgehülften in dem Wercke Des HERRRN seyn, und daß sie denen Jüngern vorstehen sollen. (LP1, p. 75).

It is not the flesh-and-blood group addressed in the *Haustafel*, but the structural analogy between old and young.

Das dienet zu einer guten application auch für *Studiosos Theologiae*. Denn da sind einige, die erst von Schulen, oder auch von andern Vniversitäten kommen. Dieselben haben mehrentheils noch wenig von der Wahrheit, die in Christo Jesu ist, gehöret und angekommen; sondern haben wol in aller ἀσωτία [prodigality] und Unordnung bisher gelebet, und mit den todten Wercken ihr Gewissen beflecket. Da sollen billig veterani Studiosi Theologiae, die länger hier gewesen sind, und denen die Wahrheit, die in Christo JESU ist, mit Nachdruck verkündigt worden ist, denen Jüngern mit einem guten Exempel vorgehen (LP1, p. 75).

The older students are admonished not to be “alte Bursche” for the freshmen, but instead to be true models. They must be “serious” (σεμνούς) and “reverent in behaviour” (ἐν καταστάματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς).

Sie sollten zu dem Ende alle σεμνότης beweissen, und sonderlich auch seyn ἐν καταστάματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς, in ihrer Aufführung, wie mans heutiges Tager nennet, ordentlich, wie es Heiligen und Geliebten GOTTes zustehet (LP1, p. 76).

Francke uses the term “Aufführung” to describe the enactment of “reverent behaviour”. This term is *a la mode*, but he has reservations towards it because of its theatrical connotations.

Ich bin sonst, die Wahrheit zu sagen, dem Worte Aufführung nicht gut, wenn man spricht: Ich will mich schon so aufführen, und dergleichen. Denn ich halte, daß die *phrasis* vom *theatro* hergenommen sey, und so viel ich bedencken kan, so ist sie bey Gelegenheit der *Comoedien*, die auf Schulen gehalten worden, mit auf die Bahne kommen. Es ist sonst eine bessere *phrasis theologica*, wenn man vielmehr vom innern redet, von der Beschaffenheit des Hertzens, von der Wahrheit in Christo JESU, von einem Christlichen Wandel oder Christlichen Verhalten. (LP1, pp. 76–77).

It is illustrative that a contrafactum is here introduced. Instead of “Aufführung” he prefers to talk about Christian virtue and attitude, yet the worldly theatrical term is brought in, disposed of and reintroduced in a theological guise. There are qualities here of “diese Redens=Art” although mingled with “WELT=Geist” (LP1, p. 77).

As for clothing, Francke informs his students that Paul offers an entire suit with the word, “reverent in behaviour” (ἱεροπρεπεῖς).

Man macht oft viel vergebliche Schwierigkeiten, man wisse nicht, wie man sich in dieser und jener Sache, als in Kleidern, recht verhalten solle. Hier steht *ἱεροπρεπεῖς*. Mit dem einigen Worte giebt Paulus eine gantze Kleider-Ordnung, man soll sich nemlich in acht nehmen, daß man nicht der Welt gleichförmig werde, wie solches auch mannigmal unter *Studiosis Theologiae* sich findet; sondern daß man *decorum christianismi* beobachte (LP1, p. 77).

The students are encouraged to put themselves on display, but not in accordance with worldly standards. A theatrical aspect and decorum is not banned, but imported and adjusted to Christian standards. The application of the pericope 2:1–6 shows another negotiation. The *Haustafel* is bent on to the life of the students. The admonishment to older women therefore applies to older students, both groups are instructed to be models and to teach their younger peers. The lecture is rounded off with a prayer. Francke prays to God that the words expounded will seize the students, and that they may be turned into sound vessels and instruments (LP1, p. 75).

To sum up: the fourth lecture is a rich example of Francke's use of words and structure in Titus to instruct his charges. Paul is at once the representative of the highest discourse – he has been to the third heaven and heard inexpressible words – yet he knows how to speak and encourage by means of a *Haustafel*. He is not too lofty for simple discourse. Students should learn from this. Francke compares the perfect teacher to a great tree with branches reaching the ground. It illustrates well the acrobatic standard with which the Halle students were confronted. Francke encourages them to put themselves on display – not theatrically, but in regard to faith and virtue. The theme and metaphor of dress is dominant in this lecture. The ideal suit consists of modesty and virtue and it befits a holy lifestyle. It comes to show in attitude and gestures. Paul offers an entire suit with one word *ἱεροπρεπεῖς* – and the students must put it on stage. The biblical language blends with the theatrical language.

7.5 FIFTH LECTURE: TIT 2:7–10

(7) Show yourself in all respects to be a model of good works, and in your teaching show integrity, dignity, (8) and sound speech that cannot be condemned, so that an opponent may be put to shame, having nothing evil to say about us. (9) Bondservants are to be submissive to their own masters in everything; they are to be well-pleasing, not argumentative, (10) not pilfering, but showing all good faith, so that in everything they may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior.

(7) *περὶ πάντα, σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος τύπον καλῶν ἔργων, ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀφθορίαν, σεμνότητα, (8) λόγον ὑγιῆ ἀκατάγνωστον, ἵνα ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐντραπῇ μηδὲν ἔχων λέγειν περὶ ἡμῶν φαῦλον. (9) Δούλους ἰδίους δεσπόταις ὑποτάσσασθαι ἐν πᾶσιν εὐαρέστους εἶναι, μὴ ἀντιλέγοντας, (10) μὴ νοσφιζομένους, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν πίστιν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀγαθὴν, ἵνα τὴν διδασκαλίαν [τὴν] τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ κοσμῶσιν ἐν πᾶσιν.*

After the introductory prayer (LP1, pp. 79–80], Francke comments on the structures in the second chapter. He divides it into two “pericopa”: 2:1–10 and 2:11–15. The first pericope is further divided into 2:1–6 and 7–10, in order – as he states – to concentrate on the “emphasis und application des Textes” (LP1, p. 81). In 2:7–10 Titus is exhorted to be a role model in his conduct and doctrine. The way he is introduced in 2:7 interferes with the *Haustafel* topos. Francke explains that Titus has done nothing wrong, but he too is a young man, like those addressed in 2:6. He must therefore parade himself as a model of good works to the other young men, before he can advance.³² This insight is clothed in the special style of Paul, and the point is that a teacher must experience a change of heart before he can become a ‘true servant of God’. He must prove himself as a model of good works.

Ja es ist dieses durchaus die Art des Apostels, daß er erst darauf dringet, daß Hertz müsse geändert seyn, der Geist Gottes müsse bey dem Menschen wohnen, und sich durch Früchte des Geistes erzeugen, ehe er das *requisitum* der Lehre bey einem Lehrer erfordert; welches ein kräftiges und gewaltiges Argument ist, daß es *ad essentielle* eines wahrhaftigen Knechtes Gottes gehöre, daß er ἀνέγκλητος sey [“above reproach”, cf. Tit 1:6] und als einen τύπον der guten Wercke beweise. Welches ein sonderbares Wort ist, das sonderlich Paulus in seinem *stilo* gebrauchet; daher man solches *ad characteres stili Paulini* mit rechnen kan, doch nicht also, daß es ihm alleine *vindiciret* werde (LP1, p. 82).

Paul is not the only one to use the word ‘typos’; Peter speaks of ‘models for the flock’ in 1 Pet 5:3 (“τύποι der Heerde”, LP1, p. 82). Yet it is Paul who has a special way of handling the term, when in Rom 6:17 he coins τύπον διδασκῆς – ‘model of teaching’. The grammatical mood of Rom 6:17 is passive, and Francke uses this as an argument: the model of teaching is something you become, not something you are. The model is compared to a lead letter in a printing press. Francke mentions that ‘typos’ literally means ‘to hit’, “Schlagen” (LP1, p. 83). Consider the following argument, which brings us away from Titus, but only to clarify the term ‘typos’ and the aspect of active passivity.

Paulus aber brauchet es insonderheit schön in der Epistel an die Römer c. 6,17 εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδασκῆς, in welchem typum der Lehre ihr gegeben seyd, wie es in einer Druckerey ist, daß, wie der *typus* ist, also ist auch der Buchstabe, der davon auf das Papier abgedrucket ist; wie das Pitschaft ist, so ist auch das Siegel, das von dem Pitschaft in das Wachs abgedruckt ist. Also sagt er, ihr seyd wie ein

³² LP1: p. 81: “Zuvor aber v.7. 8. führet er an, wie selbst Titus sich zu einem Vorbilde darstellen sollen. Nicht als wenn etwas unordentlich in der Rede wäre, sondern weil Paulus in dem 6. Vers von dem νεωτέροις, die von jüngern Jahren waren, geredet; so nimmt er daran Gelegenheit, den Titum selbst, der auch unter die jungen Männer noch gehörete, zu ermahnen, daß er sich denen andern zum typo und Vorbilde darstellen solle, daß sie an ihm dasjenige sehen und wahrnehmen könnten, was er von ihnen erfordere.”

Wachs so dahin gegeben in denselben τύπον διδαχῆς, also daß dieselbe heylsame Lehre sich in eurem Hertzen abgedrucket, und daß in eurem Hertzen dieselbe Gestalt gefunden wird, die der τύπον διδαχῆς hat (LP1, p. 82).

The students are soft and malleable like wax, and on them the teaching seal-stone is pressed. This comparison is emblematic for the target of the paraenetical lectures. In Titus 2:7 it is constructed differently, yet here showing and displaying is central. Francke translates “show yourself” (σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος) as “reiche dich selbst” – and he discerns the emphasis of this verbal construct.

Es wäre gut, daß man die *emphasin* des Worts *parochia* heutiges Tages beybehalten möchte, daß diejenigen, so eine *parochiam* haben oder haben wollen, auch seyn möchten παρεχόμενος τύπον καλῶν ἔργων (LP1, p. 83).

The next part of 2:7 reads “and in your teaching show integrity” (ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀφθορίαν). Francke mentions that some codices read ‘immortality’ (ἀφθαρσία) instead of ‘freedom from corruption’ (ἀδιάφθορία).³³ This alternative reading is not discarded at once, since, as Francke argues, Paul frequently used the word ἀφθαρσία, for instance in Eph 6:24, Rom 2:7 and 2 Tim 1:10; 1 Pet 3:4 (LP1, pp. 83–84). The difference between ‘freedom from corruption’ and ‘immortality’ is not decisive: in fact, they are compatible and particularly “apostolic”, says Francke.

Also ist diß Wort ἀφθαρσία ein recht Apostoliches Wort, damit das Wort ἀδιάφθορία übereinkommt. Wenn es nun von der Lehre gebraucht wird, so bedeutet es die *integritatem doctrinae*, wie das Wort auch vorkommt de *virgine incorrupta*. Es soll also ein Lehrer *doctrinam quasi virgineam integram illibatam*, führen, daß er dem HErrn JEsu sein Wort lauter und rein lasse, und es nicht mit menschlichen Zusätzen vermenge. Es soll in der *doctrin* nicht allein σεμνότης oder *decens gravitas*, sondern auch *integritas* seyn, daß die Lehre gleich hinein geführt werde in lauter unvergängliche und ewige Dinge, und man sich nicht bey solchen Dingen aufhalte, die unter Händen vergehen, wie er Col 2,22. davon redet (LP1, p. 84).

In this passage we see how even divergent words are seized upon as a chance to instruct teachers on how to teach. We also see the ideal of guarding the integrity of doctrine by avoiding “menschlichen Zusätzen”, which is the main tenor of Francke’s and Anton’s lectures.³⁴

³³ This alternative reading is not mentioned in today’s standard scholarly edition of the Greek text. In NA28, ἀφθορία (‘integrity’) is placed in the body text, and three variant verbs are listed in the apparatus. All four verbal constructions are *hapax legomena* in the New Testament. In Francke’s edition the word ἀδιάφθοριαν (‘uncorrupted’, ‘chaste’) must have been the consensus reading, and the alternative reading that he mentions is ἀφθαρσία (‘incorruption’, ‘immortality’), whence his statement: “Für ἀδιάφθοριαν lesen einige codices ἀφθαρσία: welches Wort Paulus auch sehr liebet, und öfters gebrauchet.” LP1, p. 83.

³⁴ See above.

Proceeding to the words in 2:8: “sound speech that cannot be condemned”, Francke draws attention to ‘cannot be condemned’ (ἀκατάγνωστον). He writes:

Das Wort ἀκατάγνωστον hat auch seine sonderbare schöne *emphasin*, nemlich er soll in der Lehre das Wort also führen, daß er nicht verdammt, oder verworfen werden könne, und das sich niemand daran zu stossen habe, ja daß es der Lehrer selbst nicht wieder zurück nehmen dürfe: da denn zur *Illustration* gar füglich *conferieret* werden kan, was Gal 2,11 geschrieben stehet, da Paulus erzehlet, wie er mit Petro in einem Streit kommen sey (LP1, p. 85).

The reference to Gal 2:11 serves as a hint as to why teachers should be mindful of “sound speech that cannot be condemned”. If they are so, they avoid being like a Peter confronted by Paul. The intertextual argument hinges on the interrelation of words: ἀκατάγνωστον in Titus 2:8 and “κατεγνωσμένος” in Gal 2:11.³⁵

After the disruption in 2:7–8, presenting Titus as a role model, the *Haus-tafel* topos is resumed in 2: 9–10, now addressing the bondservants. Francke explains the meaning of the words “but showing all good faith” (ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν πίστιν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀγαθήν, 2:10). Faith is here to be understood as faithfulness.³⁶ The display of good faith serves the purpose “so they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.” Francke comments on the “God our Saviour”, which he considers to be an epithet. It is not designed “die Rede zu füllen” but emerges “aus der Fülle des Hertzens” (LP1, p. 89).

Proceeding to the explanation (*indoles*) of 2:7–10, Francke dilates to his audience on what it means to have Paul and Titus as role models (LP1, p. 89). With a heap of references to the Epistles,³⁷ he highlights the importance of physical discipline, the eschatological tension of proclaiming the Gospel, the right reason to boast and the importance of having a “Kampf des Glaubens” (LP1, p. 92). The references serve to testify to the greatness of the apostle and why he should be imitated. The *indoles spiritus paulini* must be ingested and digested by Francke’s students, for both inspiration and discipline.

Welche Lauterkeit und Demuth durchaus in dem *spiritu Paulino* zu erkennen und zu admirien ist. Dieses soll einen dahin führen, daß man selbst *indolem spiritus Paulini* auch in sich fassen, und keines weges von sich selbst höher halten möge, als er in der Wahrheit befunden wird (LP1, pp. 90–91).

³⁵ “self-condemned” – “But when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face, because he stood self-condemned” Gal 2:11.

³⁶ LP1, p. 88: “πίστις wird hier für die Aufrichtigkeit und Treue genommen, die auch unter den Menschen geübt werden muß, in welchen Verstande auch πίστις unter den Früchten des Geistes stehet Gal. 5, 22.”

³⁷ 1 Cor 9:27; 2 Cor 4:2; 1 Cor 4:5; 2 Cor 10:12; Rom 15:19; Phil 1:30.

To adopt the Pauline spirit implies prayer and humility, which are in every way useful when holding a position as a pastor. The exercise of devotion should become a habit: “Nun diß ist denn auch eine Haupt-Sache, welche *Studiosi Theologiae ex indole spiritus Paulini* zu erlernen haben, und die sie billig schon in einen *habitus* gebracht haben sollten, wenn sie ins Lehr-Amt kommen (...)”, LP1, p. 91. To Francke the meaning of the Epistles – Paul’s true intention with them – is applicable to theology students today. He asserts that the Pastoral Letters were written to students of theology, but a theology student is one who ‘shows himself to be a model of good works.’

Nun dieses dienet gleich zur Application, indem *Studiosi Theologiae* wissen sollen, daß die Epistel an dem Titum und an den Timotheum eigentlich für *Studiosos Theologiae* geschrieben sind, welche einmal ins Lehr-Amt treten sollen. Sonderlich aber gehet sie diese Lehre an, wenn gesaget wird *σεαυτὸν παρέχόμενος τύπον καλῶν ἔργων*. Davon muß ietz und der Anfang gemacht werden, daß man sich in dem Hause, da man ist, und unter seinem *Commilit[i]onibus*, darunter man lebet, schon so beweiße, und als einen *typum* darstelle, daß andere erkennen mögen, man werde zu einem Gefässe der Gnade des HErrn, und seiner Gemeinde zum Dienste zubereitet (LP1, pp. 92–93).

One of the remarkable things in this exposition is how Francke makes use of the exegetical structure – and disrupters – in the application to the students. In his exegetical explanation he raised the question, why was Titus abruptly addressed in 2:7? His explanation being, that the young man had to show himself as a model among the others, before aspiring to teach them. This idea is now resumed in the application. The exegetical and contextual remark, that 2:6 and 2:7 are related – young men and Titus – is mapped onto the students at Halle. Before they enter life outside the large house in the town, they must *already* among their companions show themselves as models.

The exhortation to the bondservants is again perfectly applicable to student life. Francke makes the link and gives directions to his students in the following way:

Da zu ist niemand mehr verbunden, als *Studiosi Theologiae*, die sollten ihre Worte, und ihre Werke, und ihr gantzes *studium* so führen, daß die Evangelische Lehre recht durch sie geschmücket würde, daß sie als die rechten Jünglinge erfunden würden, die den Bösewicht überwunden hätten, daß man die rechten Kräfte des neuen *Wesens des Geistes* Röm 7,6 die Kräfte des Glaubens, der Demuth, der Liebe, der Sanftmuth, der Geduld, der Christlichen gravität, Wahrheit und Beständigkeit an ihnen fände, so würde die Evangelische Lehre durch sie gezieret werden (pp. 95–96).

Theology students must in their lives conform to a pattern that adorns the teaching of the Gospel. They must overcome evil deeds and experience renewal. As new creations they will adorn their teaching. In this interpretation the bondservant metaphorically stands for a life in sin, which is over-

come. The ‘doctrine of God’ is here the evangelistic teaching. Before the lecture is rounded off with a prayer, the students are admonished not to be a “Schand-Fleck” on the church or the university (LP1, pp. 96–97).

To sum up: the binary structure in the *Haustafel* is disrupted with an apostrophe to Titus (2:7). Francke seizes on the personal interjection to point out that students already now, and among their fellows, must show themselves to be role models. Only in this way may it be possible to advance from the seedling nursery to the *Lehramt*. The university and the orphanage grounds thus comprise a devotional boot-camp for aspiring teachers and pastors. The lecture is an example of how divergent words in biblical manuscripts can serve as a vehicle for edifying instruction. It is here too that Francke, for the first time, takes up the metaphor of the printing press and the signet ring. The model of teaching is a seal stone which must be pressed onto the malleable student.

7.6 SIXTH LECTURE: TIT 2:11–15

The sixth and the seventh lectures examine the same pericope, Titus 2:11–15:

(11) For the grace of God has appeared, bringing salvation to all, (12) training us to renounce impiety and worldly passions, and in the present age to live lives that are self-controlled, upright, and godly, (13) while we wait for the blessed hope and the manifestation of the glory of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ. (14) He it is who gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity and purify for himself a people of his own who are zealous for good deeds. (15) Declare these things; exhort and reprove with all authority. Let no one look down on you.

(11) Ἐπεφάνη γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις (12) παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, (13) προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, (14) ὃς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα λυτρώσεται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας καὶ καθάρσιν ἑαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον, ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων. (15) Ταῦτα λάλει καὶ παρακάλει καὶ ἔλεγε μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς· μηδεὶς σου περιφρονεῖτω.

In the introductory prayer, Francke expresses his trust in God that he will ensure that the students will receive the message and become “tüchtige und brauchbare Werckzeuge” honouring God, serving man – and that their souls may be saved (LP1, p. 98).

He summarizes the exegetical context. The verses 2:11, 12, 13 and 14 can be read as if they were in a parenthesis (LP1, p. 99). This parenthesis gives us an explanation (“eine rationem anführet”) of all the previous admonitions. The first and the last verse in the second chapter are related. In 2:1, Titus is told to *speak*. Hereafter follows the *Haustafel* (2:2–10) and then the parenthesis (2:11–14) which authorizes the contents of that speech.

In the last verse, 2:15, the theme of Titus' *speaking* is resumed. This is the overall structure of the text pericope of the sixth lecture. The first and the last verses are thematically related, and 2:11–14 are placed in brackets, which Francke proceeds to examine (LP1, p. 99).

Two words with a special emphasis are salvation (σωτήριος) and grace (χάρις) (LP1, p. 99). Francke notices the structural similarity of the epiphanic event in 2:14 (“For the grace of God has *appeared*”) and 3:4 (“But when the goodness and loving kindness of God our Saviour *appeared*”). He takes the similarity as a hint that the concepts in these verses are interchangeable. “Grace” in 2:14 can be read as “goodness” and “loving kindness of God” (ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία) in 3:4. Although it is Francke who does the trick, he praises Paul for being his own exegete.

Denn was hier [Tit 2:11] heisset, das heißt dort χρηστότης καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ [σωτήρος ἡμῶν]³⁸ θεοῦ [Tit 3:4], auf welche Weise man siehet, wie Paulus eine Sache mit unterschiedenen Worten ausdrucket, und also sein eigener *exegeta* ist. (LP1, p. 100).

Following the syntactical progression of 2:11, Francke suggests the insertion of a comma between ‘of God’ (τοῦ θεοῦ) and ‘salvation’ (σωτήριος) “damit es so viel deutlicher in die Augen falle, daß die Worte (...) zusammen gehören”.³⁹ The next part, “salvation to all” is paralleled with 1 Tim 2:4, which highlights man’s responsibility of praying for everyone (1 Tim 2:1–3). The salvific act of God is thus combined with man’s obligation to pray for all, not only converted believers, but also kings and the secular authorities (LP1, p. 101). The point of the writer, Francke explains, is that all must be helped towards salvation. This is a somewhat surprising interpretation; “salvation to all” becomes ‘helping all’. Francke explains it as follows:

Seine [Paul’s] *ration* ist diese, denn es sey gut und angenehm ἐνώπιον τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, ὃς πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι [1 Tim 2:3–4], als welcher will, daß allen Menschen geholfen werde. So sagt er [Paulus] nun auch hier, die Gnade sey heylsam allen Menschen, oder sie habe in ihr selbst die Kraft, daß sie allen Menschen zur Seligkeit helfen könne (LP1, p. 101).

Salvation involves man’s assistance, and it thus becomes a matter of aiding and abetting. Francke reads the salvific message of 2:11 onto previous verses: salvation has come to the bondservants, to the young and old men and women. Moreover the salvific message is linked to the dissemination of sound doctrine (LP1, p. 102).

³⁸ Francke omits ‘our saviour’ (σωτήρος ἡμῶν) of Tit 3:4 and thus has the construction “χρηστότης τοῦ θεοῦ” which he parallels with Matt 19:17 and the Hebrew construction *tûb Jhv̄h* (טוֹב יְהוָה) in Ps 25:8a “Good (and upright) is the Lord”.

³⁹ Such a comma exists in the English translation after “appeared” (“For the grace of God has appeared, bringing salvation to all”).

The following verse 2:12 begins with “training us to” (παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς). Francke is not content with Luther’s translation “züchtiget uns”, since the Greek term *paideia* is an important educational notion. The definition he suggests is emblematic for his paraenetical lectures and the target of the reform at Halle. Consider the following.

Es fasset aber das Wort παιδεύειν in sich *totam educationem, & quaecumque ad eam pertinent*, dahin gehöret, daß man die Jugend in ihrer Unwissenheit unterrichte, daß man in der Unart, welche ihr anklebet, sie auf einen bessern Weg weisen suche, daß man dieselbe, wenn sie zu dem rechtschaffenen Wesen keine Lust hat, aufmuntere und dazu erwecke, daß man auch, wenn sie wirklich Böses thut, dieselbe züchtige, und sie durch die Ruthe der Zucht, oder sonst durch Schärfe, vom Bösen abzuhalten suche. Das alles, und was sonst auf einige Weise *ad educationem iuuentutis* gehören mag, das ist in diesem Wort begriffen (LP1, p. 103).

Showing and directing, encouraging and admonishing the youth, is all subsumed in the notion of *paideia* – and what pertains to this notion. Francke mentions the equivalent term in Hebrew *mûsar* occurring in Prov 3:11⁴⁰, and that both are most important for a “Evangelische Leitung und Führung” (LP1, p. 104).

As important as *paideia* is its effect (“effectus”), developed in the following words of 2:12: “[training us to] renounce impiety and worldly passions” (ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας), and “in the present age to live lives that are self-controlled (σωφρόνως), upright (δικαίως), and godly (εὐσεβῶς).” Francke splits the verse into two parts, and interprets them as a sequential progression. Renunciation precedes virtuous life. He explains how the renouncing of impiety and worldly passions is a “locus fundamentalis und classicus,” and alludes to Peter’s denial of Christ (LP1, p. 104). The grammatical construction is adduced to support the point of a development from renunciation to the flowering of the virtues. The latter begins once the former is firmly ended.

Es ist aber noch ferner ἀρνησάμενοι die emphasis zu bemercken, da es im aoristo stehet, (...). Denn es muß erst die Verleugnung vorher gehen und zum Grunde gesetzt seyn, wenn ein gottseliges Leben geführt werden soll (LP1, p. 106).

The aspect of the aorist locks the act of renunciation into the past. Against this background a new life is introduced; a life of self-control (σωφροσύνη), justice (δικαιοσύνη), and godliness (εὐσέβεια). Francke argues that these three virtues, respectively, show duties towards oneself, one’s neighbour and one’s God.

Was in den drey Worten σωφρόνως, δικαίως, εὐσεβῶς für eine emphasin liege, ist sonst nicht unbekant, wie nemlich die σωφροσύνη in sich fasse die Pflichten

⁴⁰ “My child, do not despise the Lord’s discipline.”

gegen uns selbst, δικαιοσύνη die Pflichten gegen den Nächsten, und εὐσέβεια die Pflichten gegen Gott; welches auch seine Richtigkeit hat (LP1, p. 107).

The virtuous life (“gottseliges Leben”) is placed in the present era (ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι) but is also orientated towards the future. In the following verse, 2:13, hope is introduced as a feature merging the present and the coming era. Francke explains this by summarizing the progression from 2:12 to 2:13. Here we see a movement from the past to the present to the future, and thematically from renunciation, to virtue, to a living hope. Again, the grammar is dismantled to explain the point:

Wie das ἀρνησάμενοι im *aoristo* vorangehet, so wird das προσδεχόμενοι im *praesenti coniungiret* mit dem ζήσωμεν. Wenn nemlich bey dem Menschen eine wahrhaftige Verleugnung vorgegangen, und er in der σωφροσύνη und δικαιοσύνη und εὐσέβεια lebet, und GOTT in der Wahrheit dienet: so ist er προσδεχόμενος, so ist eine lebendige Hoffnung in seinem Hertzen, in dem er ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι vor sich hat die Seligkeit des künftigen αἰῶνος, darein er durch die Zukunft Christi eingeführet werden soll. (LP1, p. 108).

To be led to bliss in Christ’s future is exactly what is said in 2:13: “while we wait for the blessed hope and the manifestation of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ”. Francke mentions that some make use of the last part of 2:13, in doctrinal discussions on Christ’s divine nature, “Weil hier der *articulus* nicht *repetiret* sey” in “our great God and [our] Saviour, Jesus Christ”. (LP1, p. 109).⁴¹ He does not find this sort of argument convincing “indem die Griechen darinnen eine grosse Freyheit gebrauchten” (LP1, p. 109). He recommends that arguments for such discussions be carefully selected, and gives a number of references which are more “klar und evident.”⁴²

Francke goes on to comment on the Old Testament context (Ex 19:5–6) for the expression in 2:14 “people of his own” (LP1, p. 110–111). The last verse 2:15 is related to 2:1, but here further information is given on how Titus must speak. “Let no one look down on you” in 2:15 is paralleled with 1 Tim 4:12 (LP1, pp. 112–113). He saves the indoles and the application for the following *lectio*. The sixth lecture is thus spent on the literal sense “weil der Text gar zu wichtig ist”.⁴³

⁴¹ Francke quotes τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ from 2:13. The argument to which he refers, but also finds unconvincing, is that a τοῦ could be placed in front of σωτῆρος, but since the article is not repeated, it is a proof of Christ’s divine nature.

⁴² LP1, p. 110: “Solche und dergleichen *loca* sind klar und evident, und greiffen ins Hertz hinein, und lassen den Menschen nichts dagegen aufbringen: daher man solche *loca* vor allen Dingen zu vrgiren hat.”

⁴³ This is a timely reminder of how the lectures do not comply with the image Francke draws in the preface to LP1, where he informs us of the character and the purpose of his lectures, namely that they are directed at application, not at philology and exegesis.

7.7 SEVENTH LECTURE: TIT 2:11–15

The seventh lecture continues the previous, but expounds the *indoles spiritus Paulini* and the *applicatio*. The pericope 2:11–15 is, according to Francke, of the highest quality of Pauline spirit. He explains this further with an interesting reinterpretation of Lutheran theology.⁴⁴ The distinction between Law and Gospel is the “Haupt-Sache der Theologie,” and it is crucial to keep them apart. Yet the two domains constantly intermingle, and Paul’s letters are good evidence of such conflation.

Man siehet, wie er [Paul] Gesetz und Evangelium so weislich miteinander verbindet, daß keines, so zu reden, dem andern in sein Amt greife, und doch keines von dem andern getrennet werde; sondern das Evangelium vielmehr das Gesetz aufrichte (...) (LP1, p. 116).

Francke compares the epiphanic event of grace in 2:11 to the rising sun. He stresses that it is not the Gospel nor a doctrine that has appeared, but God’s grace. Moreover this is no metaphor used for rhetorical purposes – the power of the words is beyond Aristotelian concepts – (LP1, p. 116). What kind of grace is it then? he asks – it is grace, “bringing salvation to all.” This is beyond comprehension and eloquence:

Das gehet abermal über alle eloquentiam humanam, welche nicht weiß, was in dem worte σωτήριος steckt, in dem dieses Wort dergestalt tief lieget, daß man mit Wahrheit sagen mag, daß auch die wenigsten von denen, die sich Evangelische Christen nennen, den rechten Nachdruck desselben *penetrieren*. (LP1, pp. 117–118).

Even Christian believers do not necessarily understand the emphasis of the word. It connotes salvation history, the fall and redemption of man (LP1, p. 118). No pagan author is capable of using the word and expressing its entire meaning. It can only emerge “ex lingua Spiritus Sancti, & ex interioribus oeconomiae diuinae” (LP1, p. 119).

The *paideia* construction in 2:12 also shows the excellence of this pericope: here grace shows herself to be a “vniuersal-Meister” who takes mankind to school.

Hier ist abermal die Majestät in dem Vortrage zu erkennen, indem er der Gnade Gottes diß beyleget, daß sie, als der vniuersal-Meister, alle Menschen, wie weise, wie hoch, wie klug, wie starck, wie mächtig sie sind, als die kleinen Kinder, in ihre Zucht nimmt, sie in ihre Schule führet, und sie die ersten Buchstaben der Erkenntniß des Heyls lehret (LP1, p. 119).

The description of grace as a schoolmaster chimes in with Francke’s opening statement that law and Gospel are intertwined. Grace is also the preceptor in the next words of 2:12, where the ‘effect’ of the *paideia* is de-

⁴⁴ In the first two parts, I have hinted at how Francke’s reassessment of Paul is different from Luther’s, yet remains Lutheran. See the section on Bible readers in the first part.

scribed as “[training us] to *renounce* impiety and worldly passions.” (LP1, p. 120). The repudiation of vice is followed by a description of a virtuous, self-controlled, upright and godly life. Francke claims that Paul in one sentence gives a perfect description of the Christian believer, and 2:12 thus comprises more knowledge than an entire book “so daß, wenn einer gleichen gantzes grosses Buch davon schriebe, doch nichts mehr darinnen stehen könnte, als was in diesem einigen Vers enthalten ist” (LP1, pp. 120–121). The Christian believer is first described as one with flaws and wants, then he is renewed by prudence (σωφροσύνη), justice (δικαιοσύνη) and godliness (εὐσέβεια) (2:12, LP1, pp. 121–123). Putting aside “worldly passions” must precede the true Christian lifestyle:

also wo κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας verleugnet sind, da trit nicht allein die σωφροσύνη und δικαιοσύνη ein, sondern auch da höret auch εὐσέβεια auf, und gehet die rechte εὐσέβεια an, daß der Mensch sich GOTT dem HERRN zum Dienst aufopfert, und sein Hertz, Sinn, Dichten und Trachten dahin richtet, daß er ihm wohlgefallen, und sich ihm, als ein Opfer, das da lebendig, heilig und GOTT wohlgefällig ist, darstellen möge (LP1, p. 123).

The Christian believer brings himself as a sacrifice. Francke moves on to the following verse and turns to how the epiphanic act of grace is combined with the epiphanic act of glory. The combination of grace and glory is, again, a testimony of the ‘apostle’s sovereign account’ (LP1, p. 124).

Francke summarizes the development from 2:11 to 2:13: grace appeared and took man to school, where he was taught renunciation and the virtuous life. The state of the virtuous life is a waiting position, man awaits the appearance of glory (“daß er sey προσδεχόμενος, ein Wartender auf die ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης”, LP1, p. 124).

The act of redemption in 2:14 is an event described with “Center=Words”, and Francke advises us to consider them “nach der pathologia sacra” not as mere “rhetorica illa & umbratili” (LP1, p. 125). The sovereignty of Paul’s spirit (maiestatem spiritus Paulini) cannot be expressed in words. It cannot be contained in doctrinal sentences or repeated in a way a “Papagoy” would, it must be proclaimed with an evangelic spirit (LP1, p. 126). That is why theology students must study Paul’s letters with much care:

Deswegen sollen denn insonderheit *Theologiae Studiosi* aus dergleichen *exemplo* Paulum, kennen lernen, und sollen darauf Acht haben, wenn sie seine Briefe lesen, daß sie allewege auf die maiestatem seines Vortrages, und auf die Kraft GOTTes, die darinnen liegt, nicht aber allein auf die blossen Worte, auf die *emphasin criticam* und *grammaticam* sehen, so wird man einen rechten Nutzen aus den epistolas Paulinis haben ... (LP1, p. 127).

The close reading which Francke here recommends is more of a captured reading than a philological and exegetical examination. His own reading, nevertheless, shows that the critical and grammatical emphasis is a means

to reconstruct and contemporize not only the text but its innate divine vigour. The potential risk of lofty self-regard is balanced in the *applicatio*. Here the point is repeated that erudition often gets in the way of piety and devotional reading. Thus, to know Latin, to read the Bible in Greek and Hebrew is of little use if students are arrogant. Arrogance prevents conversion. This is an issue “bey unserer Vniuersität”, despite the many biblical lectures and instructions.

Da unsere *Studiosi* so viele *collegia paraeneticca* und *biblica* hören, da sie in keine *lection* kommen, wo sie nicht auf die Kraft geführet werden, welches auch in allen unsern Predigten geschieht: so solte man dencken, die Leute müßten einmal anders werden (LP1, pp. 128–129).

It is illustrative that the arrogance among the Halle students is clothed in religious discourse. Some of them suppose that they can think and act on behalf of all Christendom:

Wenn schon einige sind, die so etwas von der Erkenntniß der Wahrheit fassen, so thürmen sie sich, ehe man sichs versiehet, so in die Höhe, daß die dencken, sie könnten von der gantzen Christenheit und von allen Lehren derselben *raisonniren*, und von allen Dingen, die ihnen vorkommen, ihr Urtheil fällen (LP1, p. 129).

Francke recommends that these students come down from their heights and learn how to prostrate themselves before God and ask for mercy. The problem of Christian arrogance is the reason why self-renunciation is so important.

Es sind viele hier, das weiß ich, bey welchen noch kein Anfang der Verleugnung da ist, sondern die ihren Sinn nur darauf gerichtet, wie sie einmal eine gute und austrägliche Pfarre kriegen mögen, und deren Hertz noch niemals recht umgekehret und verändert ist. Da es nun also an der Verleugnung fehlet, und diese nicht zum Grunde lieget, wie solte denn das übrige da seyn? (LP1, 129–130).

Francke faces the delicate challenge of having students who are too engaged in their studies. They have little if any time for devotional exercises. He passes on Luther’s advice that the best hours of the day are spent in prayer.⁴⁵ Those students, however, pay no attention to such advice:

Aber die *Studiosi* kehren sich an solche öftere Erinnerung nicht, sondern hängen so am Studieren, haben so einen *pruritus scientiae*, wenns keine Müßiggänger sind, daß sie dencken, o was müsten sie für Zeit versäumen, wenn sie täglich ein paar Stunden GOtt geben, und im Gebet nur ihm umgehen sollten (LP1, p. 131).

⁴⁵ LP1, pp. 130–131: “Ich habe diese Regel, ich weiß nicht, wie viel mal gegeben, daß man noch so weit im Christenthum, dem einigen nothwendigen, zurück wäre, kein Bedencken haben die besten Stunden des Tages (wie dergleichen von Luthero, da er an. 1530 zu Coburg war, erzehlet wird) aufs Gebet zu wenden, damit man zu einer κοινωμία und Gemeinschaft mit GOtt kommen, und recht bekant mit ihm werden möge.”

To make his point clear, he mentions that he once knew knowledgeable scholars at a university, whose “Wissenschaft” was without effect and of no use to others. Things are different at the Halle university, and Francke assures his listeners that God’s judgment awaits those, who put no effort into ‘being equipped with divine vigour’ (LP1, p. 134).

To sum up: the sixth and the seventh lectures take up the theme of the salvation of all mankind and link it to education. Putting aside the distinction between law and Gospel, Francke describes grace as a universal school-master, who puts mankind to school and teaches it self-renunciation and a virtuous, upright and godly life. The theology in the Pastoral Letters is outlined in accordance with the theology at Halle. The eschatological tension is not threatening, but invested in reform. Grammatical constructions in the text, the difference between aorist, present and future, are used to set the coordinates for the Christian believer’s life in the world, not of the world. The former life of sin and disobedience is placed in the undefined past; in the present era the world is turned into a school. While attending school, mankind expects God’s glory.⁴⁶ Finally the students are reminded not to be lofty and arrogant but to pay attention to devotional exercises and not spend their time only on academic studies.

7.8 EIGHTH LECTURE: TIT 3:1–7

The eighth lecture opens the third and last chapter of Titus. Both the eighth and the ninth lectures expound 3:1–7, which according to Francke offers Paul’s definition of true Christianity. The eighth examines words and structures (*sensus literalis*), the ninth explains what to make of Paul’s spirit and how to apply it. First I shall show how Francke structures the pericope, then look closely at some of his examinations of words, which are thematically linked to conversion, renewal, trinity and remembrance.

(1) Remind them to be subject to rulers and authorities, to be obedient, to be ready for every good work, (2) to speak evil of no one, to avoid quarreling, to be gentle, and to show every courtesy to everyone. (3) For we ourselves were once foolish, disobedient, led astray, slaves to various passions and pleasures, passing our days in malice and envy, despicable, hating one another. (4) But when the goodness and loving kindness of God our Savior appeared (5) he saved us, not because of any works of righteousness that we had done, but according to his mercy, through the water of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. (6) This Spirit

⁴⁶ The same structure and tension are found in the title of Francke’s *Seminarium universale*. Here the establishment of a seedling nursery corresponds to a godly life in the present era; and the expectation of green shoots to the expectation of God’s glory. This is further developed in Kristian Mejrup: “Halle Pietism: Acrobats Buying Time”. In *Anthropological Reformations – Anthropology in the Era of Reformation*, 2015, pp. 431–442.

he poured out on us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior, (7) so that, having been justified by his grace, we might become heirs according to the hope of eternal life.

(1) Ὑπομίμησκε αὐτοὺς ἀρχαῖς ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι, πειθαρχεῖν, πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐτοίμους εἶναι, (2) μηδένα βλασφημεῖν, ἀμάχους εἶναι, ἐπεικεῖς, πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνυμένους πρᾶττητα πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. (3) Ἦμεν γάρ ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, πλανώμενοι, δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ποικίλαις, ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες, στυγητοί, μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους. (4) ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιланθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, (5) οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου, (6) οὗ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, (7) ἵνα δικαιωθέντες τῇ ἐκείνου χάριτι κληρονόμοι γενηθῶμεν κατ' ἐλπίδα ζωῆς αἰωνίου.

Francke divides the pericope into two, 3:1–2 and 3:3–7. He mentions how, in the previous chapter, 2:1 and 2:15 were thematically linked by instructing Titus in speaking. He considers 2:15 to be an epilogue for the second chapter. Thematically 3:1 repeats 2:15 – and the exhortation “remind them” of 3:1 may seem redundant, yet repetition is emphatic and a useful lesson for aspiring teachers and pastors.

Ὑπομίμησκε αὐτοὺς. Errinnere Sie, *in memoriam reuoca ipsis*. Er hatte vorhin gesagt λάλει καὶ παρακάλει [2:15] er hatte gesagt ἔλεγγε μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς [2:15], nun sagt er Ὑπομίμησκε. Gesetzt, du habest es ihnen schon gesagt, und sie schon ermahnet, und bestraft μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς, daß du sagen möchtest, sie wissen es schon alles, es ist ihnen mit allem Nachdruck *inculciret* worden, so bringe es ihnen doch wieder ins Gedächtniß; welche emphasis allerdings von grossem Nutzen ist. Denn das muß man in dem Lehr-Amt lernen, daß man nicht müde und überdrüssig werde ... (LP1, pp. 138–139).

Vital instructions cannot be repeated too often. Francke seizes the chance to remind his students of their future, while commenting on the context and the first words in 3:1. The Cretans are reminded “to be subject to rulers and authorities”, not through force but from a willing heart. Francke infers this from “to be ready for every good work”, which he parallels with 2 Tim 3:17. He avers that the Cretans are expected to be “prae-parati” – alert (LP1, p. 140).

The description of man’s former life in 3:3 is a reminder that none of us is better than the next man. If any are better it is only because of God’s mercy and compassion. Man is deprived of knowledge (ἀνόητοι) when he does not know God (LP1, p. 143). Francke explains two kinds of disobedience (ἀπειθεῖς): intellectual recalcitrance is when we refuse to believe; wilful disobedience is when we rebel.⁴⁷ He comments on the word “στυγητοί” in 3:3 which is omitted in Luther’s translation. It is cognate with the river

⁴⁷ LP1, p. 143: “Die ἀπειθεια in intellectu ist, wenn ein Mensch der Wahrheit nicht glauben will. Die ἀπειθεια in voluntate ist, wenn er contumax, inobediens, rebellis ist.”

Styx and means hateful and devilish. He thus renders *στυγητοί* as “rechte teuflische Menschen, rechte Höllen-Brände” (LP1, p 144).

In 3:3 the sinful disobedient life is described, but contrasted to the epiphanic act of 3:4. This comparison is made to remind the Cretans of what they were saved from. (LP1, p. 145). Francke argues that the change to first person plural in 3:3 is no rhetorical figure, but indeed includes Paul: “Wenn also Paulus hier saget: Ἡμεν γάρ ποτε, wir warens weiland, so zeigt er damit an, was in dem Menschen von Natur stecke, und schließt sich allerdings mit ein.” (LP1, p. 147). Moving on to 3:5, he suggests the bracketing of some of the first words in order to emphasize the salvific link between 3:4 and 3:5.

ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιланθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, (wie er oben gesagt c. 2, 11) οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἃ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος, können gar füglich in eine parenthesin gesetzt werden. Das also diese Worte zusammenhängen: ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς (...) (LP1, p. 147).⁴⁸

The parenthesis smoothes and displays the syntactical constructions and brings to the fore a certain theme. He explains the bracketed words (“not because of any works of righteousness that we had done, but according to his mercy”) with reference to Deut 7 and 9, emphasizing that God’s chosen people are not inheriting the promised land because of their righteousness but because of his mercy.⁴⁹

It is essential to understand salvation as an act which implies an awareness of one’s own misery. Man’s sinful life is in sharp contrast with the appearance of divine mercy. Salvation is brought about by “the water of rebirth” (“Durch das Bad der Wiedergeburt,” LP1, p. 150). Francke highlights the impetus of the word for ‘pouring out’ (ἐξέχεεν, “ausgegossen”) of the spirit in 3:6. This is, he avers, a word which is useable for describing the Holy Spirit in both the Old and the New Testaments.⁵⁰ Francke refers to a saying by Luther, which claims that Paul is capable of using a word that “durch alle Propheten hindurch schaue” (LP1, p. 150). Such a word is

⁴⁸ Francke’s suggestion is evident in the English translation where “God our *Saviour*” in 3:4 is followed by “he saved us” in 3:5. In the Greek text, the clause “not because...” is placed in-between ‘saviour’ and ‘saved us’.

⁴⁹ Francke gives no specific reference, but the link is evident in Deut 9:5: “It is not because of your righteousness or the uprightness of your heart that you are going in to occupy their land; but because of the wickedness of these nations the Lord your God is dispossessing them before you, in order to fulfil the promise that the Lord made on oath to your ancestors, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.”

⁵⁰ Francke gives a number of references to passages where the word could be used, not that it necessarily is used. Isa 32:15; 44:3; Ezek 36:25; 39:29; Joel 2:18, 2:29; Zech 12:10. Acts 2:33; Eph 4:8. LP1, pp. 150–151.

ἐξέχεν – and the passage 3:4–6 is most central to the “mysterium trinitatis” (LP1, p. 151).

After examining verse 3:7, Francke gives a short summary, but saves the explanation and application of the text for the next Lecture (LP1, pp. 152–153).

7.9 NINTH LECTURE: TIT 3:1–7

Here Francke explains the meaning of 3:1–7 and how it should be applied. He thus covers the *indoles* and the *applicatio*. The pericope is of capital importance, since it depicts “einen rechten Evangelischen Christen”. To Francke the description is so Pauline that it would be recognizable even if Paul’s name were omitted.

Wenn genau darauf Acht gegeben wird, wie er an diesem Orte einen Christen vorstellt, so wird leichtlich zu erkennen seyn, daß er ihn nach seiner Weise beschreibe, wie in allen seinen übrigen Episteln, und daß er einerley Gestalt und Art eines rechtschaffenen Wesens überall darinnen vorstelle, so, daß man aus solcher Beschreibung, ob gleich der Name Pauli nicht davon stünde, spiritum Pauli leicht erkennen möchte (LP1, p. 155).

The point is clear: Paul’s description of a true Christian is special, and the last clause is a way of emphasizing this. At the same time the last sentence is an omen of the development in the reception of the Pastoral Letters.⁵¹

The instruction to Titus in the first two verses, as to admonishing the Cretans to be subject to the worldly authorities, shows the nature of true Christianity. All Christians are related to each other in a “Band der Liebe”, but some are subject to others, while those others are bestowed with the authority to rule (LP1, p. 156). Paul’s description of true apostolic Christianity has authority to rule, and this is why it must be printed onto the hearts of the believers. As in the fifth lecture, Francke takes up the reference to Rom 6:17 and the metaphor of seals, and fonts in a printing press.

Diß ist denn auch der Weg zu der rechten *application*, daß man dieselbe Art und *indolem* eines wahren Christen, wie sie Paulus uns vorleget, auch von GOtt dem HErrn zu erlangen suche, und auch in denselben τύπον διδασκῆς einergeben werde (Röm. 6,17) wie das Waches in da Pitschaft, damit sich dieselbe Art des göttlichen Sinnes, wie sie in Gottes Wort abgebildet wird, in das Hertz hinein drucke, und eine solche Gestalt in dem Menschen entstehe, als in demselben τύπῳ διδασκῆς vorgeleget ist. Da liegt viel daran, daß man die rechte Art des Christenthums aus GOTTES Wort fasse, und daraus ein recht apostolisches Christenthum erlerne, wie es in seiner eigentlichen Gestalt und reinesten Lauterkeit von denen Aposteln des HErrn selbst vor die Augen gemahlet ist, damit man nicht durch Lesung dieser und jener Bücher, darinnen etwa laxior

⁵¹ See the introduction to this part.

christianismus angegeben wird, eine falsche Gestalt gewinne, welche sich in das innerliche und äusserliche Wesen eindrucke (LP1, p. 157).

We here see a clear example of how pastoral instructions are drawn directly from the Bible. This warrants the quality, it is not some lax definition, drawn from other sources, but a true and apostolic one. It does not suffice to simply repeat the words: the spirit that dwelled in Paul and Moses, in the prophets and the apostles, must be contemporized and seized by the listeners. Christ must “eine rechte Gestalt in uns gewinne” (LP1, p. 158). Francke’s claim to Paul’s Christianity suits his own understanding; true Christianity is a matter of improving man and combining piety and utility (LP1, p. 159).

The focus in 3:2–3 on “to be ready for every good work”, “to speak evil of no one” and “to show every courtesy to everyone” is full of emphasis. It proves Paul’s spirit and intensity, δεινότης.⁵² This is the second time that Francke uses the term to qualify the character of Paul’s writings. To exemplify the intensified rhetoric, he alludes to Paul’s words in Phil 4:11–12⁵³, which according to Francke formulate the idea that “alle Christen in eine solche geschmeidige Form gebracht seyn solten” (LP1, p. 164). The idea of a malleable form fits with the metaphor of the seal and the sealing wax and the Printing Press. The true believers must be malleable, it is a requirement for turning students into models for others (ὑποτύπωσις) – and this is the very objective of the paraenetical lectures.

Nun das alles läßt sich insonderheit auch nach dem *special-scopo* dieses *colegii paraenetici* auf *Studiosos Theologiae* applicieren. Denn da dieselben auch einmal eine solche ὑποτύπωσις im Leben und in der Lehre darlegen sollen, nach welcher andere Christen gebildet werden sollen, so ist höchstnöthig, daß sie auch dieser Stücke [Tit 3:1–2] erinnert werden (LP1, pp.161–162).

Francke explains how the first part of 3:1 applies to students, since they are the most unruly of all people. This topos was introduced in the third lecture, and is here resumed. The problem is caused by their having no master to obey.

Es ist jo leyder mehrentheils so beschaffen, daß kein unhändiger und unordentlicher Volck anzutreffen ist, als Studenten. Das hat keinen Meister, wie etwa ein HandwerksBursch, es hat keinen Herrn, wie etwa KaufmannsDiener, es hat keinen Officier, wie etwa ein Soldat, es hat keinen Fürsten, wie etwa ein Hofmann, dem es unterthänig seyn, und nach dem es sich reguliren müste; sondern es will frey und ohne Zaum und Zügel seyn, es will Spatzieren gehen,

⁵² LP1, p. 160: “Das ist ein grosser Nachdruck, der allerdings nicht vorbey zu gehen ist, und worinnen man sonderlich spiritum Paulinum und eius δεινότης erkennen kan.”

⁵³ “for I have learned to be content with whatever I have. (12) I know what it is to have little, and I know what it is to have plenty. In any and all circumstances I have learned the secret of being well-fed and of going hungry, of having plenty and of being in need.”

wenns will, in Trinck-Haus gehen, wenns will, studieren, wenns will (LP1, p. 162).

The ungovernable student is a prevalent problem at universities. Francke bemoans the bad habits practised and passed on to new students: gaming, singing, drinking and a libertine lifestyle. Students must refrain from these habits, and instead focus on becoming servants of God.⁵⁴ Francke continues his lament under the heading from 3:1: “to be ready for every good work”. ‘I know of no people under the sun who are worse in doing good deeds than students’ (LP1, p. 164). One should not entrust them with anything. Merchants are far more trustworthy, students are only useless, even when it comes to writing: “Man kann manche zu nichts anders brauchen, als zum schreiben, und das ist denn auch wol ungeschickt genug” (LP1, p. 164). This specific complaint tilts at the student scribes.⁵⁵ Nevertheless Francke assures us that this is not spoken out of contempt for students, but out of love.

Das sage ich nun nicht aus Haß gegen die Studiosos, welche ich vielmehr hertzlich liebe, sondern darum, daß man solches ändern, daß man aus der alten Form heraus kommen, und in einer solche Art eingehen soll, die in dem gemeinen Leben nützlich ist, darinnen man πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐτοιμούς werde (LP1, p. 165).

The students are encouraged to exercise and practise their teaching skills and their function as models. It is not enough to frequent university lectures, and let the words “zu einem Ohr ein=zu, andern ausgehen” (LP1, p. 165). Only a fool would think that ‘school, not life, teaches’ – “scholae discere, non vitae” (LP1, p. 166). Studies must be combined with perpetual exercise.⁵⁶

In the world, the man who is a hundred times less erudite than the scholar may well be of much greater use. This reminds Francke of the words written by Cardinal Richelieu to his brother.

Es erinnert mich dieses an dasjenige, was einmal der bekante Cardinal Richelieu an seinen Bruder schrieb, da er ihn gebeten, er solte doch an Hof kommen, und der Bruder sich entschuldigte, er hätte nicht Verstand und Geschicklichkeit gnug dazu, daß er am Hof leben könnte, so antwortete der Cardinal: *Nescis, mi frater,*

⁵⁴ LP1, p. 163: “Man muß allerdings denselben Studenten-Sinn, der so gern junckeriren und stoltzieren, und so frech und frey seyn will, fahren lassen, oder man taugt nicht zu einem Knechte Gottes.”

⁵⁵ Francke has a similar complaint in *Grosse Aufsatz*, although given in a more moderate tone. GA2, p. 146: “Denne die Studiosi schreiben nicht so accurat und ordentlich, daß nicht noch Zeit erfordert würde, es in Ordnung zubringen (...)”

⁵⁶ LP1, pp. 166–167: “So müssen wir unsere studia also theilen und einrichten, daß wir sie in perpetua exercitatione stehen, und das recht anwenden, was wir lernen, damit wir dem Nächsten im gemeinen Leben dienen können.”

quam exigua sapientia mundus regatur, du weißt nicht, mein Bruder, mit was für weniger Weisheit die Welt regieret wird. (LP1, p. 167).⁵⁷

Francke continues his instructions on how to comply with the definition of true Christianity in 3:1–7. He encourages assiduous reading of the Bible, not only of the words but of the “Gestalt” of the spirit imbued in it. This will consequently turn them into serviceable vessels.

Deswegen sollen Studiosi diß sein zu Hertzen nehmen, daß sie die Schrift fleißig lesen, in der Schrift aber nicht allein die Worte lernen, sondern suchen, daß sie die rechte Gestalt und Art des Geistes Christi und seinen Apostel daraus lernen, und ie mehr und mehr in dieselbe hineindringen, so werden sie recht nützliche Gefässe in der Kirche GOTTes einmal werden. (LP1, pp. 171–172).

They are expected to study the words, learn from discursive structures in the text, and be shaped by the spirit therein. This is no small matter, since there is a shortage of good students, not from any lack of erudition, but of piety.⁵⁸ To Francke the true theology student is worth a hundred times more than scholars trained in philosophy and language:

Wie ich denn wohl sagen kan, wenn ich eine rechte Art des Christenthums an einem Studioso gewahr werde, und einen sehe, bey welchem eine rechte Demuth, ein rechter Kampf wider die Sünde, ein rechter Eifer vor GOTT, ein beständiger Ernst in allem Guten fortzufahren, eine rechte Liebe zum Worte GOTTes, ein rechter Gehorsam zu finden ist; von einem solchen Menschen halt ich mehr, als von hundert andern, er ist auch besser zu gebrauchen, er wird mehr Frucht in der christlichen Kirche schaffen, als viele andre, die noch so viel Sprachen, dazu Philosophie und Theologie in Kopf gefasset haben. (LP1, pp. 172–173).

At the end of the lecture, Francke reminds his students to seize the moment and train to become “ready for every good work” (LP1, p. 173).

To sum up: the eight and the ninth lectures both expound 3:1–7. They both reprise prominent themes introduced in previous lectures. For instance the metaphor of the printing press and the malleable student, the sealing wax on which the seal – the model of teaching – is pressed. The metaphor is used to remind the students of Paul’s apostolic definition of true Christianity. This definition is so full of Paul that it is recognizable even without

⁵⁷ LP1, p. 167 The quotation, sometimes in the form *An nescis, mi fili, quantilla prudentia mundus regatur?* is ascribed to both Richelieu and Axel Oxenstierna, the adviser of Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632) and, later, of queen Christina (1626–1689) – addressed to his son in connection with the peace of Westphalia. In other words, this belongs to the lore rather than a conscious reception of Richelieu. Thanks to Mette Birkedal Bruun for clarifying this.

⁵⁸ LP1, p. 172: “Ich rede nicht von der erudition, sondern vornehmlich von dem Christenthum, und von dessen rechter Beschaffenheit.” This stands in opposition to Stiefels’ impression of the schools at Halle. He was more concerned about the level of erudition than of piety. See the excursus in part two.

Paul as its explicit author. Paul is furthermore a model because of his *vie arrière*; he too once was a real sinner, but then he was saved. The repetitive progression in Titus is turned to account as good advice. Reminders and repetition are important techniques when working as ministers or teachers.

7.10 TENTH LECTURE: TIT 3:8–15

(8) The saying is sure. I desire that you insist on these things, so that those who have come to believe in God may be careful to devote themselves to good works; these things are excellent and profitable to everyone. (9) But avoid stupid controversies, genealogies, dissensions, and quarrels about the law, for they are unprofitable and worthless. (10) After a first and second admonition, have nothing more to do with anyone who causes divisions, (11) since you know that such a person is perverted and sinful, being self-condemned. (12) When I send Artemas to you, or Tychicus, do your best to come to me at Nicopolis, for I have decided to spend the winter there. (13) Make every effort to send Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their way, and see that they lack nothing. (14) And let people learn to devote themselves to good works in order to meet urgent needs, so that they may not be unproductive. (15) All who are with me send greetings to you. Greet those who love us in the faith. Grace be with all of you.

(8) Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος· καὶ περὶ τούτων βούλομαί σε διαβεβαιουῖσθαι, ἵνα φροντίζωσιν καλῶν ἔργων προϊστασθαι οἱ πεπιστευκότες θεῷ· ταῦτά ἐστιν καλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. (9) μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας καὶ ἔρεις καὶ μάχας νομικὰς περιῖστασο· εἰσὶν γὰρ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ μάταιοι. (10) αἰρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραιτοῦ, (11) εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἁμαρτάνει ὧν αὐτοκατάκριτος. (12) Ὅταν πέμψω Ἀρτεμᾶν πρὸς σέ ἢ Τύχικον, σπουδάσον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με εἰς Νικόπολιν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ κέκρικα παραχειμάσαι. (13) Ζηνᾶν τὸν νομικὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῶν σπουδαίως πρόπεμψον, ἵνα μηδὲν αὐτοῖς λείπῃ. (14) μανθανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι καλῶν ἔργων προϊστασθαι εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας, ἵνα μὴ ὦσιν ἄκαρποι. (15) Ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντες. ἄσπασαι τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἐν πίστει. Ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

The last lecture treats the end of the letter 3:8–15. Francke comments on “The saying is true”, which in Greek is expressed with *logos* (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος) which brings association to Christ. “Diß ist die rechte cabbala, die rechte Lehre, die aller Annehmung wehrt ist, daß JESUS Christus in die Welt kommen, die Sünder selig zu machen” (LP1, p. 175). He mentions other occurrences of the expression in the Pastoral Letters. By rendering “saying” as teaching and doctrine, he brings to the fore the Gospel message stylized by Paul (LP1, p. 175).

The reference to the city of Nicopolis in 3:12 is debated among scholars – which city is it and where is it located? but according to Francke, this is missing the point. It is to focus on the *husk* of the biblical text, not the *kernel* (LP1, p. 183).

In his explanation of 3:8–15, he argues that the target of Paul’s teaching is to bring joy to mankind (LP1, p. 184). The Christendom outlined in all of

Paul's letters does not come out of "eine bloße theoretische Erkenntniß" (LP1, p. 185). Paul knows perfectly well the sublime heights and inexpressible words, but this is no hindrance to his discerning simple matters pertaining to the household. This shows, explains Francke, how different is Paul's spirit from the "spiritus academicus", which is only interested in lofty matter (LP1, p. 185). He draws attention to the importance of extracting theological instruction directly from the pure evangelic source. Chapters 2 and 3 in Titus are good examples of how Paul shares things that "are excellent and profitable to everyone" (3:8).

Es ist damit nicht ausgerichtet, daß man hoch herfahre, sondern man muß diejenigen Dinge vollbringen, die da sind καλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, gut und denen Menschen nützlich, wie es Paulus hier im 2. und 3. Capitel gewiesen. Und zwar müssen diese guten und nützlichen Dinge aus der reinen Quelle des Evangelii hergeleitet werden, daß man sie nicht auf eine gesetzliche Art gebotsweise suche, sondern daß die Menschen selbst, wenn sie die Wahrheit des Evangelii in Kraft vortragen hören, Liebe, Lust und Freude dazu gewinnen, und zugleich die Kraft dazu aus einer ieglichen Predigt, die ihnen gehalten wird schöpfen können (LP1, p. 186).

The pure evangelical source inspires and cultivates a longing in man, without prescribing it. This is an advantage of preaching and instructing directly from the Bible. Paul's high spirit and his ability to speak of ordinary things, is a quality. Francke reminds his students of the importance of giving catechism instructions, and not only paying attention to arcane matters. Once they have positions in the *Lehramt*, there will be no time to study, and their academic books with "schwere quaestiones" will be of little use (LP1, p. 187). The students must therefore have an eye for the audience, when delivering sermons. Yet the idea of complying with the rules of an auditorium ("nach dem auditorio richten") is not favoured. When Christ spoke to the Pharisees, "da hatte er ein gelehrtes auditorium", but he nevertheless spoke clearly and simply ("deutlich und einfältig") (LP1, p. 188).

On this note, Francke proceeds to the *applicatio paraenetica*. He takes up mystical theology, which apparently was an issue among the students. Books on mystical theology can be good and edifying, but the Bible is even better. Luther appreciated Tauler and found his mystical theology valuable, but there is a clear difference between mystical texts and the Bible. The latter shines like a star in the night, the former like the moon in daylight (LP1, p. 189). Francke recommends getting acquainted with the apostolic spirit "und nach dessen *indole* sich richte" (LP1, p. 190). If the students will follow this advice, he is sure that they will cover the land with godly knowledge.

Wenn unsre *Studiosi* diese Lehre annehmen, und diesen Weg betreten möchten, so bin ich versichert, daß der Segen GÖtTe unausprechlich seyn, und alles Land mit Erkenntniß des HErrn bedeckt werden würde, wenn eine solche Anzahl der *Studiosorum Theologiae* in der Lauterkeit des Evangelii befestiget würden, und

Früchte darinnen trügen, mit welchem hernach viele Gemeinen versorget werden könnten. (LP1, pp. 190–191).

The students are further recommended to combine their academic studies with γυμνάσια πρὸς εὐσέβειαν – exercises in piety (LP1, p. 191). Francke is here alluding to 1 Tim 4:7 and the words which became a catchphrase in devotional theology: “Train yourself in godliness” (Γύμναζε δὲ σεαυτὸν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν).

To sum up: the tenth lecture reprises the theme of combining, without compromising, divine inspiration, erudition and humbleness. As in the fourth lecture, Paul is described as one who has been to the third heaven and heard ineffable words, but without becoming lofty in speech or character. This is an example for all students to follow, particularly those that are tempted by the spirit and the habits of academia. The *applicatio* in the tenth lecture takes up the question of whether books on mystical theology are edifying. The Bible is certainly the better source, and the students are advised to read and be formed by it. In this lecture, Francke takes up the metaphor of inundating the land with godly knowledge. This has also occurred in *Grosse Aufsatz*, where it is contrasted with the destructive and corrupting deluge. Here it is by virtue of the students, teachers and pastors trained at Halle, that the earth will overflow with godly knowledge.

7.11 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The paraenetical corpus and the pastoral landscape in Halle are formative contexts for the Titus Lectures. They developed as part of the year-long lecturing activity attempting to instil true Christianity and to shape students into shepherds. The repetitive endeavour and the many sites on which the pastoral formation took place, gives the impression of an expanded ecclesiastic centre. The church is turned into a *large house*, in which mankind is schooled and instructed in self-renunciation and godliness. As a reception of the Pastorals, Francke attempts to revive Paul by making claims to his authority, spirit and the divine vigour of his words. Paul, Titus and Timothy are understood to be the best instruments for making models of and for Christian believers. In the Pastorals doctrine and paraenesis are interwoven in each and every chapter. This is illustrative of the way Francke instructs his students to combine knowledge with piety: an acrobatic ideal which requires pliability and incessant exercise.

The theme of dressing and addressing is most central in Francke’s exposition. The outspoken ideal to draw pastoral guidelines directly from Scripture does not exclude an element of “Welt=Geist”. The parade of flowering virtues expected from the students may after all be indulged with a dash of theatricality. The rhetorical composition applied in the Pastorals gives us

not only an image of Paul, but also of Timothy and Titus. They are the explicit addressees of the letters, but since they are instructed on how to instruct others, the readership is consequently broader. Francke uses this to remind his students – his young apostle apprentices – that they are responsible as students, teachers and future shepherds to be models for others in word and deed.

8. GENERAL CONCLUSION

To strip and dress up again are basic acts of conversion. Something is left behind, something is added. This is not a one-time event, but an exercise to be continued indefinitely. The iterative act affects the believers as well as the world around them. The prerequisite and the objective for devotional life are intertwined, and the true believer is at once an acrobat and a shepherd, a virtuoso and a teaching model for others. In Francke's case, conversion made an imprint on topography as well. As the *point de repère* of the reform movement, the church in Glaucha developed into a *large house* (2 Tim 2:20) in a pastoral landscape with a multitude of devotional sites. This development implied a relocation from the church to a spacious edifice. Here men were schooled by God's grace and taught self-renunciation, godliness, modesty and righteousness (Titus 2:12).

The orphanage was planted in the prosperous soil of Halle and designed to seize the *acceptable* time granted in the present era. Francke developed this idea in GA and it matches the eschatological prospect in Titus 2:11–13 as his exposition in the sixth and seventh Lectures showed. The cultivation of virtues is for all mankind, it develops in a combination of three temporal dimensions: against a background locked in the past, in the present era and with an expectation of God's future glory.

The aim of this study has been to examine the way in which Francke staged his reform project for a selected and supportive audience. The outline given by Francke in GA shows not only the grand prospects of Halle Pietism, but also how they are interrelated. GA1 presents the concept of the movement and invites the reader to become an investor and a supporter of a respectable and utilitarian enterprise. The project is a safe investment protected by providence and Prussian patronage. GA2 posits moral corruption as a threatening inundation and the university and the orphanage as the means to resist it. GA3 abounds in advice on how to fund and amplify the reform movement. By inviting the readers of GA to give their support, Francke offers them a chance to become a part of the movement, which shapes students into shepherds and churches into *large school houses*. In GA1 he conveyed his invitation to the benefactors with a Pauline shrewdness, which reversed the role of giver and receiver. He, not the affluent subscribers, is the giver, and his invitation is a gift to them and a chance to become givers themselves by supporting his work at Halle.

The supporters are not expected to become shepherds, but to team up with the devout and selfless administrators in Halle. The encouragement to help amplify the reform implies project-making, both in terms of commercial trade, manufacturing businesses, student funding and social care.

With the three lay figures, I have attempted to show the main dispositions of the reform movement. Each figure emphasizes a thematic thread,

which interrelates with other themes and the other figures. The project-maker represents the worldly *negotium* which was required in order to fund, maintain and amplify the reform movement. By placing the acrobat and the shepherd on each side of the project-maker, as emblems of pliability and zeal, we see how the prerequisite and the objective of devotional life are linked to worldly engagement. At the same time, this disposition shows that the project-maker presupposes the acrobat, in that this figure warrants the true, sincere and selfless interest of the former. This is further reinforced with the shepherd as the emblematic figure of the finest product of the industry. The purpose of the three figures is to maintain the interrelation between the grand prospects of Halle Pietism. The founder's *Geschäftsgeist*, the rational capitalist organization of the businesses and the amplification of the reform consequently apply to religious, devotional and educational areas.

The understanding of capital in GA is differently conceived than in *Fußstapfen*, where it meant 'next to nothing' – which was the ostensible amount on which the reform was founded. In GA, capital is a pecuniary means, an asset for investment. This applies to minted capital as well as human capital. The interest in increasing profit is thus reflected in all aspects of the industry.

Although the orphanage was the kernel of an entire industry, run by devotional acrobats and project-makers, its main objective was to shape students into shepherds and to inculcate true Christianity. As I have attempted to show, this endeavour was pursued with scriptural virtuosity and preference for the Pastoral Letters. Only if we read GA in the light of the Titus Lectures and vice versa do we begin to understand Francke's integrated view of business.

The Pastorals were the means by which the students in Halle were dressed, addressed and encouraged to practise and prepare for a life outside the orphanage grounds, in the world, but not of the world. The conception of the world and the secular authorities in the Pastorals is marked by conformity rather than conflict. In Francke's exposition of the Letter to Titus, this comes to the fore in the *willingness* with which the Christian believers are to subject themselves to the worldly authorities. It also comes to show in Francke's daring encouragement of his students to parade Christianized virtues with a tinge of theatrical *Welt-Geist*.

SUMMARY

August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) came to Halle in 1692, and there held a position as professor at the new university, and, at the same time, worked as a minister in Glaucha on the outskirts of the city. The reform, the institutions of which are today known as the *Francke Foundations*, was inaugurated in 1695 and was consolidated in a large orphanage, the construction of which was begun in 1698. Francke's project rapidly expanded from the church in Glaucha to several devotional sites spread out over a pastoral landscape which had its main centres on the university campus and on the grounds of the orphanage itself. This topographical spread is central to our understanding of Halle Pietism, its professionalization of pastoral care and its expansion of the ecclesiastic space.

The orphanage was a synecdoche, so to speak, of industry, with a cluster of schools, manufacturing businesses, student dormitories and refectories, workshops, a printing house, a bookshop and an apothecary's shop. The movement strove towards financial autonomy and towards a reform of society by means of education, rationalized charitable work and student funding. The business and trading plans were means to raise funds in order to improve society. Yet the pertinent question is, can a Christian industry be supported by profit from trading? And what would the appropriate way be to advertise such a combined effort?

The aim of this study is threefold: a) to investigate the way August Hermann Francke staged his reform project at Halle for a selected and supportive audience; b) to explore the strong focus on the Pastoral Letters within Halle Pietism; c) to reshape definitions and hone a hitherto imprecise terminology by means of a cultural-historical de-mythologization and a focus on biblical exegesis.

On the basis of two sermons, a prospectus, ten lectures and three figures as my analytical keys, I approach Halle Pietism with the ambition of offering a contribution to the field, admittedly vast, of interdisciplinary research which surrounds it. The chosen texts revolve around the years 1697, 1698, 1703 and 1704 and – bearing their edition history in mind – span the period from the beginning of the reform movement at Halle in 1695 until the death of its founder, August Hermann Francke, three decades later.

The acrobat, the project-maker and the shepherd are lay figures, which are inferable from the historical sources. Each figure emphasizes a particular thematic thread and indicates my way of approach. The three figures overlap, and the progression from part one (acrobat) to part two (project-maker) and part three (shepherd) can be interpreted as a grammatical construction with a subject, verb, direct and indirect object: *the acrobat makes projects for shepherds*. The project-maker represents the worldly *negotium* which was required in order to fund, maintain and amplify the reform

movement. By placing the acrobat and the shepherd on each side of the project-maker, as emblems of pliability and zeal, we can see how the prerequisite and the objective of devotional life are linked to worldly engagement.

Halle Pietism contributes a significant chapter to the reception history of the Pastoral Letters. Biblical scholars have long acknowledged this, but until now it has had little, if any, impact on other research areas. In part three I pursue this theme in an investigation of a series of paraenetical lectures, which Francke held in 1703 on Paul's Letter to Titus. Their *Sitz im Leben* was the pastoral landscape of Halle, on which a tireless lecturing activity went on. The landscape, the lectures and the paraenetical corpus are valuable lenses for the contemporizing reception of the Pastoral Letters. All of this is presented together with a close reading of the ten Titus lectures: which have not before been studied extensively, despite the fact that they are part of a corpus well known in the research literature.

My concern with biblical reception and hermeneutics brought me to the field of rhetoric. *Contrafacta* are means to import artistic impulses into Pietistic media. In the Titus Lectures, Francke comments on his own use of a theatrical term: "Aufführung". The term is ticklish due to its theatrical connotations, but it is nevertheless used to indicate how students should *display* virtue and good behaviour. Simplicity and the simple style were apt means for expressing elevated and invigorated words. Halle Pietism was influenced by a Longinian tradition, without however being as explicit about it as the contemporary French debate and reception of Longinus' treatise on the Sublime. The idea that terrific power and rhetorical intensity spring from the orator's capacity to be seized and given speech by heaven was nevertheless prevalent in Halle Pietism. To this the Lectures on Titus bear witness.

RESUMÉ

Halle-pietismens grundlægger, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), kom til byen i 1692, hvor han blev ansat som professor ved det nyoprettede universitet i Halle. Samtidig med sin stilling som professor, først ved det filosofiske fakultet og fra 1698 ved det teologiske, varetog han et embede som præst i Glaucha, en forstad til Halle. Det var i dette dobbelte virke og i grænselandet mellem by og forstad, at vi må forstå udgangspunktet for reformbevægelsen. I 1695 oprettede Francke de første skoler, som var knyttet til kirken og embedsboligen i Glaucha. Han ansatte sine universitetsstuderende til at undervise i skolerne mod ophold og ernæring, og kombinerede derved børneopdragelse med studenterforplejning. Bevægelsen voksede støt og i 1698 indledtes en ny fase ved opførelsen af et imponerende vajsenshus. Det blev varemærket for reformbevægelsen, og til trods for at det gik under betegnelsen vajsenshus, var det ligeså meget et centrum for den industri, som var opstået og nu blev samlet og forstærket i det nye byggeprojekt, der år efter år føjede tilbygninger til hovedhuset.

Francke havde tidligt opnået kongelige privilegier, formidlet af myndighederne i Berlin, til at oprette et apotek, et trykkeri og bogbutikker. Han fik tillige skattelettelser, og privilegierne gav ham ikke kun forretningsmuligheder, men i kraft af at være udstedt fra Berlin også immunitet i forhold til de lokale myndigheder i Halle og i hertugdømmet Magdeburg. Det betød, at der både var tilhængere og modstandere af projektet i Halle, og anklagerne, der rettedes mod Francke, var af ganske forskellig karakter. Nogle angik forretningslivet, andre fromheden.

Reformbevægelsen, der i kraft af Franckes dobbelte embede, fra begyndelsen havde bevæget sig mellem universitet og kirke, kom ved vajsenshusets opførelse til at omfatte et nyt centrum. Dette centrum gjorde på ingen måde kirken overflødig, men det skabte et nyt hovedsæde og en ny rationalitet. Kirkereform og reform af kristne blev på den måde effektiviseret. I stedet for at lappe på det gamle, var der brug for nytænkning: arkitektonisk, ekklesiologisk og pædagogisk. Kirken skulle fornyes gennem uddannelse af fremtidens hyrder, og den børneopdragelse, som længe var blevet for sømt i hjemmene, skulle nu varetages af studenterlærere. På den måde kunne de øve sig i rollen som lærer, og deres elever blive grundigt indført i kristendom og skolegang. Dette er den korte udgave af, hvad der er centralnerven i den reformbevægelse, som er kendt under betegnelsen Halle-pietisme, og de vajsenshus bygninger, som i dag er kendt som Francke Stiftelserne.

Målet for min afhandling er at undersøge, hvordan Francke præsenterer sin reformindustri for en kreds af velyndere, særligt i reformskriftet *Der Grosse Aufsatz* (GA). Jeg undersøger, hvordan og med hvilke midler han iscenesætter sit værk som Guds værk, og hvordan det, til trods for at være

under Guds forsyn, har brug for hjælp, støtte og forretningsråd fra velvillige, velhavende og indflydelsesrige folk ude i verden.

Det kræver en vis balancekunst at kunne håndtere og forene guddommeligt forsyn med forretningsplaner, børnehjemsarbejde, uddannelsesinstitution, kirkearbejde og universitetsstudier. Reformen rummede det hele, og en række betroede medarbejdere hjalp til, heriblandt et støt voksende antal studenterundervisere. Francke er ikke personen, der udfører alle opgaverne, men han organiserer i større eller mindre omfang dem alle. Et af de spørgsmål, som melder sig i GA er, hvorvidt en kristen reformbevægelse, der varetager kirkelige, sociale og uddannelsesmæssige anliggender, kan finansieres af kommerciel forretning og handel. På den ene side er det ganske uproblematisk, og et erklæret mål for vajsenshuset var at blive en selvforsynende virksomhed. På den anden side melder de delikate spørgsmål sig, når man tager produkterne og produktionsformerne i betragtning. De opbyggelige fromhedsprodukter, bibler, prædikensamlinger og opbyggelige skrifter var uproblematisk og havde deres egen selvindlysende legitimitet. Sådanne kunne uden videre produceres ud fra devisen 'jo flere, jo bedre'. Anderledes fordækt forholdt det sig med luksusvarerne kaffebønner, kaviar, vin, sukker og pelse, der sneg sig ind sammen med den øvrige handel. Dette er et af de ømtålelige punkter i GA. Sættes Franckes teologiske troværdighed over styr ved de forretningsmuligheder, som det internationale missionsnetværk tilbød?

Som et led i mine undersøgelser af repræsentationsstrategier fokuserer jeg på, hvordan Francke bruger sin Bibel som et instrument i alle mulige situationer. Både til at påkalde sig autoritet, til at løse konflikter, til at søge om støtte og til at gøre det klart for sine udvalgte læseskare, hvad det er det hele handler om. Når han har forsynet sine læsere med den rette forståelse, vil de begribe, at det ikke er dem, der giver til ham, men omvendt: han giver dem muligheden for at være med i bevægelsen, som Gud har iværksat; og lader de muligheden gå forbi, er de skyldige i det tiltagende fordærv, der præger samfundet. Denne 'smed mens jernet er varmt'-købmandslogik er udformet med kyndig eksegetisk snilde. Francke formår ved hjælp af sin bibel at skabe en eskatologisk ladet stemning, hvor trusler, fare og undergang lurer i baggrunden. Dog kommer de aldrig frem, for ved at gribe muligheden – drage nytte af øjeblikket – kan katastroferne afværges. Det er på en sådan baggrund, at reformbevægelsen træder frem i Franckes skildring af den i GA.

Brugen af Bibelen – og faktisk også brugen af eskatologi som et middel til at tilskynde til reform – er tæt forbundet med en særlig interesse for, reception og brug af Pastoralbrevene. Francke fremhæver, at de, til forskel fra de andre Paulusbreve, udemærker sig ved i alle kapitler at forene teologi med formaning. Dette særkende ved Pastoralbrevene overfører han til sin egen praksis, fx når han påmindet sine studenter om vigtigheden af at

forene fromhed med akademiske studier. De to ting skal være forbundet, og foreningen skal indøves, udøves og opføres. Studenterne er fremtidens hyrder, lærere og præster. Så længe de er studerende, er de det ikke helt endnu, men de skal allerede nu træde i karakter, træne og forberede sig på livet efter studieårene i Halle. Denne situation finder Francke afspejlet i Pastoralbrevene, hvor de paulinske arvtagere og apostellærlinge, Titus og Timotheus, instrueres af Paulus i at være forbilleder i liv og lære og bemyndiget med autoritet til at indsætte biskopper. I den tredje del af afhandlingen præsenterer jeg et detaljeret studie af receptionen af Pastoralbrevene på baggrund af ti forelæsninger holdt over Titusbrevet i 1703. Det er min hensigt at vise, at Franckes *Geschäftsgeist* gjorde sig gældende på alle områder, i handel såvel som i fromhed. Den prækapitalistiske ånd herskede både i materielle og i åndelige investeringer. Denne kombination krævede en særlig teologi, som Francke fandt inspiration til i Pastoralbrevene.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

GdP: *Geschichte des Pietismus*

HF: *Hallesche Forschung*

TGP: *Texte zur Geschichte des Pietismus*

AGP: *Arbeit zur Geschichte des Pietismus*

PuN: *Pietismus und Neuzeit*

KFS: *Kataloge der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle*

KTFS: *Kleine Texte der Franckeschen Stiftungen*

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